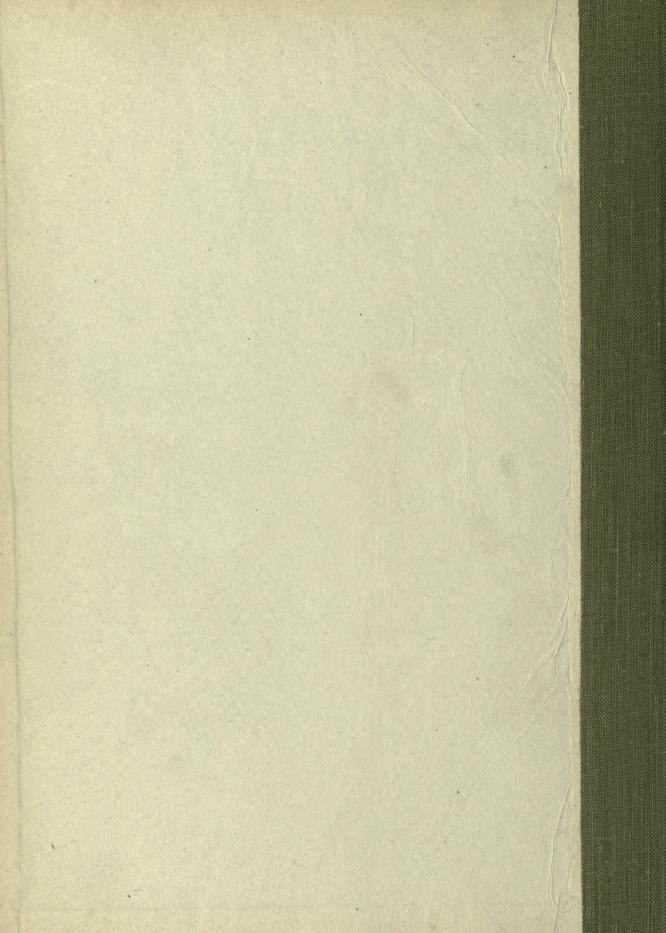


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HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

BY

LEON LEGRAIN

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	5-9
NIPPUR CHRONOLOGY	11-13
CITIES OF SUMER AND AKKAD	14
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY	
LIST OF KINGS (No. 1, 2)	15-28
THE END OF THE THIRD UR DYNASTY, IBI-SIN AND	
Išbi-Irra (No. 3, 6, 9)	28-33
A SEAL GIVEN BY IBI-SIN TO THE HIGH PRIEST OF	
ENLIL (No. 5)	
List of Temples (No. 7, 16)	
CLAY TAG FROM SURUPPAK (No. 12)	47
(No. 13)	47-48
Inscriptions of Šargon (No. 14, 15)	
Votive Cone of Arad-Sin (No. 18)	
UR-ENGUR AND NIN-SUN (No. 23)	
BAL KANIZI (No. 24)	60
Nin-din-ug-ga (No. 26)	61
Ruin of Maer on a Presargonic Date (No. 27)	62-63
PATESI OF MARAD (No. 28)	63-64
Patesi of Ašnunna (No. 31)	65
INCANTATION, RITUAL OF THE DEAD (No. 33)	66
SUMERIAN LETTER ON FIELDS AND ORCHARDS	
(No. 34)	67
INCANTATION BY THE BROKEN REED OF APSU	68
(No. 35)	
HYMN TO NINAZU (No. 41)	70 71-74
Building Inscription of Dungi (No. 42)	
BUILDING INSCRIPTION (NARAM SIN, HAMAZI)	14 11
(No. 43)	77-78
LITURGY OF PA-GIBIL-SAG (No. 44)	
TUMMAL OF NINLIL (No. 48)	80-82
Praise of Libit-ištar (No. 49)	82-83

CONTENTS

	PAGE
A Lease for Land, the 5th Year after the Capture of Isin (No. 53)	84
RECEIPT FOR 4 SHEKELS SILVER, YEAR WHEN RIM-	
Sin Occupied Dur-Damiq-Ilišu (No. 54)	85
Semitic Letter (No. 55)	86
SIPPAR MERCENARIES (No. 56)	87
RESTORATION OF EBABBAR OF SIPPAR ON THE 18TH	
YEAR OF SAMSU-ILUNA (No. 57)	88-89
RULING OF OFFERINGS IN NIPPUR TEMPLE BY HAM-	
MURABI (No. 61)	90-93
Cassite List of Names (Mu) (No. 62)	93
Appointment of Dignitaries of Enki Temple	
(No. 66)	95-96
FIELD PURCHASED BY HAMMURABI TO MAKE A	
CEMETERY (No. 67)	96
Cassite Historical Letter (No. 68)	97
HISTORICAL LETTER: CAMPAIGN OF NAZIMARUTTAŠ	0= 00
(No. 69)	97-99
71-74)	00-100
Business Documents, Time of Šagarakti Šurias	,9 100
(No. 75)	100
FIELD IRRIGATION, TIME OF ŠAGARAKTI ŠURIAS	
(No. 78)	1-102
DATED ON IST YEAR OF NABU-ŠUM-UKIN-NU	
(No. 79)	102
NIPPUR GOLD TREASURE, 5TH YEAR OF NAZI-	
MARUTTAŠ (No. 80)	- 100 - 200
Cylinder of Sargon (No. 81)	107
LEGAL DOCUMENT: IST YEAR OF AŠŠUR-ETILLUM-	
ILÄNI (No. 82–83)	107
BUSINESS DOCUMENT: 42ND YEAR OF AR-TAH-	100
KUR-SU (No. 85)	107
INDEX OF TABLETS	108
AUTOGRAPH TEXTSPL. I-XX	XIII
MAP:—The Lands of Sumer and Akkad	

INTRODUCTION

Reconstructing ancient history in Babylonia before B.C. 2000 up to 4000, and even to the kings after the flood, has become possible, thanks to the material provided by the Nippur excavations. A summary classification of unpublished tablets in the Museum collections has led to the discovery of fragments of historical import. They have been collected in the present volume. Prominent among them are: the chronological fragments, the portrait of King Ibi-Sin, and his official despatches at the time of the revolt of Isbi-irra, the founder of the Isin dynasty. They will be studied in turn along with less important, or comparatively more recent, fragments of the Cassite and Neo-Babylonian period. Due allowance should be made for further corrections to difficult Sumerian texts of damaged fragments.

The main enlightening fact is that we gain a sure footing for more than two thousand years of history before the foundation of the first Babylonian empire—the empire of Hammurabi. when Abraham was a citizen of Ur in Chaldaea—a fact that brings the early Babylonian to the level of, if not before, the Egyptian chronology. Indeed it was not a Babylonian, but a Sumero-Akkadian chronology. And the problem of origins is furthermore complicated with a racial problem. Among the 11 royal cities that had in turn the honor of governing the land between the actual region of Bagdad and the sea, some like Kiš, Upi, Akkad (Maer, Isin), belong to Akkadians a Semitic race; some like Uruk, Ur, Adab (Hamazi, Larsa), to a non-Semitic race: the Sumerians. The first known kingdom was the Semitic kingdom of Kiš. But all civilization, art, religion looked toward the Sumerian south as its cradle. The Sumerian land that extended for about 150 miles from Nippur to Eridu on the sea was the land of origins. The creation of the world was the work of Ea the god of Eridu. At the same place the Sumerians were taught the art of writing by the fish-god—the Oannes of the Greek tradition. The hero of the flood lived in Suruppak, and Gilgames was king of Uruk. The great god of heaven, Anu, was worshiped in the same city. Enlil, the lord of all countries, was enthroned in his temple-mountain at Nippur. The religious tradition of the land hung between those two poles, Eridu and Nippur. The moon god of Ur, the regulator of times, was only the son of Enlil, and the sun god of Larsa was in turn the son of the moon god of Ur. Most remarkably Eridu and Nippur were only shrines and never capital of the kingdom. We may complete the picture of Sumer by noting that the kings of Ur were Sumerians—Ibi-Sin reproaching Isbi-irra for not being of Sumerian race—and that toward the same time1 at Nippur three-fifths of the inhabitants were Sumerian, and two-fifths Semite.

When the whole land of Sumer and Akkad was united, and Babylon was a new capital for a new race, the religious significance of Sumer survived, and dead Sumerian language was used exclusively for all sort of religious compositions and records. Previous to the "usurpations" of Marduk of Babylon, and his satellite Nabu, the Semite Akkadians could boast only a great sanctuary of the sun god of Sippar. Sippar seems to have been the early center of Akkadian influence. The city gave its proper name to the Euphrates, which was known as the river of Sippar to the Sumerians. All the cities of Kiš, Upi, Babylon are located in the same region. South of Nippur began Sumer, or later on the kingdom of the sea.

Among so many questions connected with the early settlement and religious influence of the Sumerians we will single out only two, and give them only a provisional answer. How are we to understand the high number of years of the first kings recorded by chronology? Was Nippur on the Euphrates or on the Tiger?

¹ See proper names in Drehem tablets.

The moon was the first regulator of time. Twelve lunar months formed a cycle or short year. And only the necessity to keep in touch with a regular course of seasons, forced to double one month, and add an extra 13th month every second or third year. This confirms the priority of the moon god Sin, on the sun god Babbar. To the last time of the Sumerian kingdoms we know that religious ceremonies used to attend the rising of the new moon, the time of the full moon, the time of its disappearance. There were shrines—like the temple of Tiraš in Lagaš—specially consecrated to that purpose. Other chapels were called: house of the new moon and of the 15th of the moon. No computation could ever supersede that reappearance of the moon at intervals of 29 or 30 days. It was the only fixed rule. The names of the months in keeping with the seasons, the place of the 13th month was a matter of free speculation and varied from one city to another. As far back as 2300 B.C., we know at the same time 4 different calendars in the cities of Lagas, Umma, Nippur and Drehem. The Sumerian name of the monthly period of time is: bal.2 Later on we find that balû is a fixed period, the length of a reign, used also for one (solar) year of the reign. But the length of a palû is a secondary idea. The first meaning is: a fixed period of time. In Sumerian times the palû was a lunar month. Archeology can help us a little farther on. The sign bal, palû, is the picture and has the meaning of a weapon, a long lance driven into the ground.³ The shaft is ornamented with cross lines representing a hilt or side buckle. The same lance in the same position is a well-known symbol on early seal cylinders. It may figure in the hands of Gilgameš and Eabani, in connection with the sun god, and often surmounted by a star or a crescent. Now the very ideogram of the new moon: the brilliant Nannar, is no other than the same

¹ Cf. Le temps des rois d'Ur, p. 14-15: six extra months in 16 years. Space of time: bal, ibid., p. 7-9.

² Cf. bal-gub-ba in lists of accounts.

³ Cf. the palus of the Latins.

lance driven into the ground (šes-ki).¹ Had the Sumerian the habit of driving a lance into the ground for each new moon?² In fact the dating of the oldest tablets—from Šuruppak—is not by solar year (mu-an-na), but by periods: bal, that may very well be lunar months. A more recent expression is still vague: ud-ba: "in the days of . . ." Why should we not consider the figures of the first kings as so many periods of lunar months of 29½ days? The second dynasty of Kiš, reduced that way, gives instead of 3792 (bal), a theoretical number of 278 sun-years.

Was Nippur on the bank of the Euphrates or the Tiger? The question has been considered as settled. Was not Surippak a city south of Nippur on the Euphrates? Do not the texts of the "Murashu sons" at the time of the Persian kings mention the river of Sippar to Nippur? That is true, but they mention also the old Tiger (Diglat labiri). The texts of the Cassite⁴ period know the Tiger of the god Enlil (når Diglat d En-lil ki), the Tiger of Nippur. King Rim-Sin digs down to the sea, the Tiger, the river of the gods, meaning probably the great sanctuaries. King Sin-idinnam, of Larsa, states expressly that he dug the Tiger to water his land and city. The earliest testimony is supplied by Gudea⁶ of Lagaš: "in Nippur the water of the Tiger did not rise any more." Whether the Tiger itself or a large canal derived from it passed across Nippur, it seems, anyhow, that in Sumerian time the larger connection and the main stream were derived from the Tiger, without excluding connection with the Euphrates along the river of Sippar. That is why we attempted on the reconstruction map in this volume to identify the old Tigris with possibly the Habl-es-Sachr. bearing of this old line of communication on the first Sumerian

¹ Cf. Urigallu.

² Their word for year: mu-an-na "the celestial name" is the picture of an arrow, sharp point down.

⁸ BE. IX, X.

⁴ BE, XVII.

⁵ SAK. p. 208, 210.

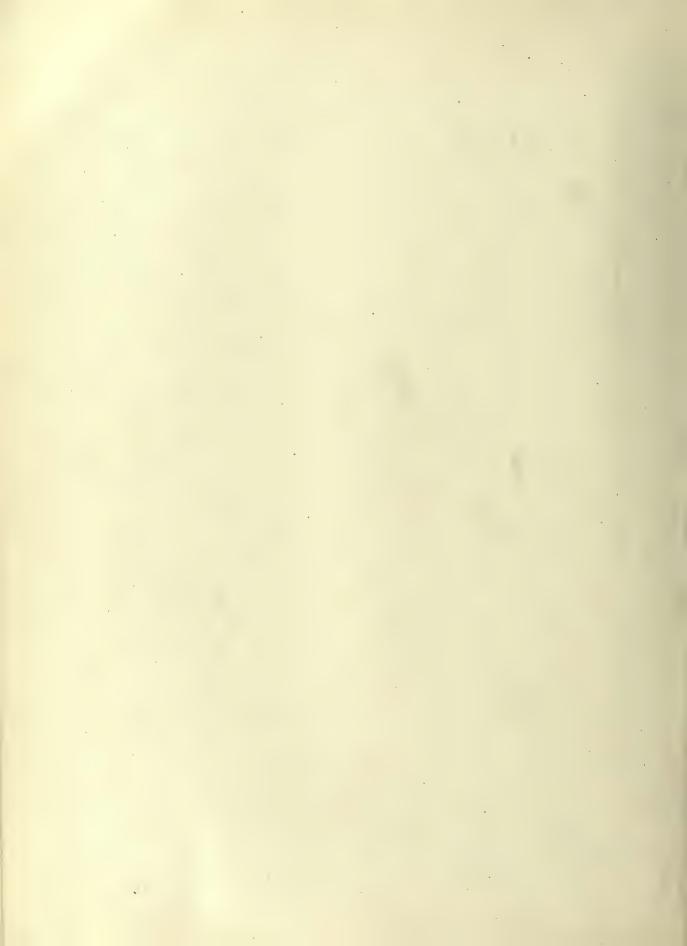
⁶ Cyl. A. I, 9; XXVIII, 13.

settlement may be considerable. Despite all the reed shrines (ê-gi-par; gi-gunu) they would build in the "eden" the new conquered lowland, the Sumerians would still remember the early shrine of Enlil dwelling on the top of the mountain. And their land, religion, civilization expanded between those two landmarks: the ziggurrat of Nippur, and the absu (templeabyss) of Eridu.

Two tables, one of the Nippur chronology, the other a geographical list, are here appended, as a short way of summing up the new data.

L. L.

May, 1921



	- Special		Mippur Chronology *	•		1
	1	Kings			Years.	
BC.			Kiš.1			Total of:
[500						Dynasties Kings Years,
2 300	1					(CBS. 14223) 4 Kis 51 (?) 18000
						Te[] 5 Uruk 22 2810
			L l-um-e.			Ba-la-gi-na-nu-[um] 3 Ur 13 396
			I J-an-L 1			Na-an-giš-li-iš-ma I Awan 3 356
			I-bu-um.			1 Hamazi 1 7
			[Uš-]ba(?)			1 Adab 1 90
			[]-tabba.	900		1 Mari [2] [30.]
			Galu-mu-um	900		1 Upi 8 99 (185?)
			Zu-ga-gi-ib	840		1 Agade 12 197
	Ì		Ar-pi Etana (sib)	720		I Guti 21 124 (125!)
			Wa-li-x	635		[or] [16] [225½]
			En-me-nun-na	611		[16] [225 1/2]
	-		Me-lam-kiš-(i)-ki	900		Royal cities 11 []
			Bar-sal-nun-na	1200		To Enlil-bani 134 28876
	1		Mes-za-mug			To Damiq-ilisu 139 32243]
			En-giš-gú V En-me-dur-mes-e(?)			
			L J-za			
			En-me-bara-gi-su, (1)			
] [900	1	
	-	0.0	Ag	625		
36	1	23	Mes-ki-in-ga-še-ir	325	18000	
	-		En-me-ir-kar	420		
			Lugal-banda	1200		
			Dumu-zi (su-ha+g)	100		
			Gis-bil-ga-mes 1-lugal I	126		
		6			2171	
43	340		Mes-an-ni-pad-da	80		
			Mes-ki-ag-nun-na	30		
			E-lu-lu. Ba-lu-lu.	25		Šuruppak
		4	Awan	36	171	Dada
41	69		2111			Haladda
7.0	7					Ŭrninpa
		3	F ** 7		0.50	Kanizi
20	7.0	3	[Ur.n.]		356	Maš-šuruppak
38	313					Ur nin-kurra.
		4	T/15		IOB	Kiš Lagaš Umma
27	05	4	Kiš n.		108	Utug p. son of Ba-zu-zu Lugal Sag engur p. Suru us-gi p
3/	05					Mesilim k. Badu k.
						Ur-zag-e k. En-hegal k.
		4	Иот г	-	3792 (Lugal [] Gursar
34	97	7	Ha-ma-zi L I-ni-iš	7	3/32 (Lugal-tar-si k. Gunidu E-abzu. k. Al-zu (?) Ur-nina k. Us p.
24	0/	1	[Kiš m]	7	7	Akuroal L. b.
34	20		and the same of			E-an-na-tum (PBS. IV p. 129) E an natum p.k. En akalli.p.
						Ent-an-na-turn' p. Ur-lumma.k.
						En-temena p. Ili P.
	1.		A	-		En-an-na-tum p. Ukus . p.

NB. Outside the main list, kings (k), patesis (p), have been classed only approximately or not at all. — Years BC. are zeconstructed on a theoretical estimate of Kis II: 278 (sun y.), Kis II:70, Uruk II:110, Mari:59, Kis II:166, Guti:124, Uruk II:1

D.C	ı	[L Uruk.II]				Lagas	Umma
BC. 3350							En-nalum
						Lugal-an-da + p.	Lugal-zaggi-si
						Engil-sa p. Urukagina	Kur-šeš p.
					·	Ur babbar p.	Amil
		Adab			Adab	Ure p.	Mesiggan. Lugal annatum
3240	I	Lugal-an-ni-mu-un-du Mari	90	90	Esar-lugal-da-lu Esar-me-igi-[]	Lugal-bur p. Bása-ma-mai p.	GaTu-babbar p. Lù d Sara
3150		An-sir	30		Mari	Ur-ma-ma b.	Mes-é
		L I-gi			[]- šamaš (BM. 90828)	Ug-me p.	
	1	TT:		[]	Uni	Nippur	Magan Mannu-dannu
3091		Upi Un-zi.	30		Zu-zu	Ur. Enlil	
,		Un-da-lu-lu Ur-sag	12			Lugal-sur-zu	Barahsu Aba-al-ga-mas
		Bá-sa Sahan	20			Kazalla/u	
		I-šu-il Šu En-zu	24			Kaštubilaš A-bi-la-ša	Basime Ilsurabi, p.
2992	6	Kiš N [Azag Ba-ú . 14]		99		Gimil-mama Báša-mama	Ibalum . p.
-		Bá-ša En-zu	25			Iah-zar-ili	Marad
		Urd Za-ma-ma 6 or Zi-mu-dar	[20 30			Báša Nu muš da Apirak	Libetili p. Lisalum p.
		U-zi-wa-dar * El-mu-ti	6			Ris-Hadad	Tu·tu·ki
		I-gul "Samas	11			Uruk - Ur Sumer	Na-bi mas p
	7(8?)	Na-ni-ia-ah Uruk, III.	3	166 (199	5 ;)	Lugal zaggisi. k.	lu.k. Puš
2726	I	Lugal-zag-gi-si	25	25	Anada	Lugal-kisalsi k	Ahuma
2701 2646		Agade Sár-ru-ki-in	55	20	Agade Bin-ga-ni-šarri Da-R-En-lil	En-sag-kus an-na	Sabum
2646		Rí-mu-uš Ma-ni-iš-te-šu	15 7		Da-M-En-III	Ka-azag. k.of U	r. Abummisar Abumilu
2624		Na-ra-am Sin +	7 56 25		(Scheil) (CBS.14220	<u>Kiš</u> Enbi-ištar	Gimil Sin bani Arad Nannar
2568		Šár-ga-ni-sár-ri * Manu-um šarru Manu-um la šarru	23		A-ba-am[] Ma-nu-ur	m[Šár·ru·ki·in	I. a.
2543		I-gí-gí šarru I-mi šarru	1		I-gi-gi [] Ma-nu-un I-mi-ilu Ir-di-[n la [Rí-mu-uš Ma-ni-iš-te-	Su Abušam
		Na-ni šarru	3		Na-nu-um - šarru Na-nu-L	Me-sa-lim	
2540		E-lv-lu šarru Du-du	21		I-lu-lu šarru I-I	Ursag-pakabdu	Marhaš Libanuk-šabaš
2519	12	Su-qar-kib	15	700	Huršitu Ašnunak	Ur-mes	<u>Ganha</u> r
2504	12	Uruk.IV Ur-nigin	3	197	(Asiru) puhia Kallamu Ituria	<u>Uru-a</u>	Kisari
		Ur-gis-ginar Kud-da	36656		Maloù Gibil·lama Ibiq-istar Kutha	Dungi-zi-mu	Kimas-Madga
		Bá-ša-ili	5		Gudea Dungi-babbar Namzitarra	Tupa Amur-sin	Hunnini
	5	Ur d Utu	0	26	Ur-pa-sag	4	Dêr
					Adamdun Kisurra Ba-a	<u>Ur+ú</u> Ur-sin	Anu-mutabbil
					Idin-ilu, p, Nagidda	Hamasi	Lulubi Anu-banini
					Itur-šamas p Urgisginar Qalbaa	Ur. adad	Satuni
					Adab, Ù-ba-a Habalule	Arad il Nannar	Iškun-Sin
					Urd[] Daburum Galudutu Lubal-sagiga	I-sim[]gi-ra a []wa-qar	Hashammer
		•			50		

BC.		Guti			Duplias	C
2478		Im-bi-a	5			Suse.
,		In-gí-šú	7		Ur ningir su	Ur.ill-Adad
		Wa-ar-la-ga-ba	6		Ur iningis zi da	Sir-is-isuk
	1	In an la go pa			Ibalpel	Disma
		la-ar-la-ga-rum	[3]		Belaku	Bá-ša-11 Susinak
				Guti	[1 mašu	
				Sar-a-li-gubi-si-in (RA. 19	019 0 73.)	Hutran-tepti
				Sarlak		Idadu I
		7-0	uh	Lasirab	Du du ni	Dan-ruhu-ratir
		[]-g			Hulibar	Idadu. II
				En-ri-da-pizir	0.0.	Kuk-kir-maš
		[]-an-	gab	Si-um (CR. 1911 p	318.) <u>E.</u> [].ne	Adda-hušu.
		I I-bi		Ar·la·ga·an (Yos.)	I, 13.)Dalala.	Tempti-halki
					- 4	Kuk-našur
					Lagas	Tempti-agun (sukal)
					Ur-Ba-u p.	Sirundu
					Nam-mah-ni p.	Ebarti
				1	Ur-gar p.	Kin-daddu
					Ka-azag p.	[lba-dimma
					Galu Ba·ú p.	Zarikum
				D 1 .	Galu gu-la p. Ur Nin-sun p.	Belia-urugal
				Babel		Urklum.
	21	Ti-ri-ga-an	204/5	Arših. p.	Gu-de-a p.	Simebalhar-huppak
2354		Utu-hegal	124 (1	15) +40 d.	Urd Ningirsu p.	Silhaha
2001		ord gegal		77	Ur-ab-ba b.	Iankuku
				Ur Lucal magueri n	Galu-ka-zal b.	Kuk-kir-mes
	[]	Ur. II		Lugal-magurri, p. Ur-magurri	Galu an dul p. Ur Lama, I p. 224	Atta-pak-su
2304		Urd Engur	18	B	Allamu b.	Kurigugu Temtl-halki
		Dungi Bur silsin	56	Umma		041.1111
		Bur oil Sin	19	Ab-ba-mu 2304	"Nannar-zi-saooal p.	Kudur-nahunte
		Gimilisin F	25	Urd Ne-gun, p.		Simti-silhak
	5	Isin	25	_ Aa-kalta	Arad-mu p.	
2187		Iš-bi-ir-ra	32 117	Da-ga-ga Gu-du-L I	Lu-an-sur p.	Ansan
Dioj		Gimil-ili-su		an-an-L	Arad Nannar, p. 221	Salabu
		Idin il Da can	21	Lanca	Lugal []-sir.p.	Lipum
		Idin Da-gan	20	Naplanum 2183	, Kiš	Nippur.
		Iš-me il Da-gan ; Li-bi-it-iš-tar	II	Emisu		Tugal-even-dia a
		Ur- Ninib .	28	Samum	U-gu-la Aš-du-ni-erim, k.21	W IIr-nah-nidaha
		Bur il Sin +	21	Zabaia 2100	ма-па-па к.20	BNam-zi-lar-ra b.
		I-te-ir-pi-sa	5	Gungunu	Sumu-ditana k.20	60Ur-ezen-dug b.
		Ir-ra-i-mitti	7	Abišare	Ia-wi-um kao	Da-da p.
		Sin-ikiša	1/2	Sumuilu	Ha-li-um k.	** 1
2032		Enlil-bani	24	Nur-Immer	211	Uruk
		Zam-bi-a	3	Sin-idinnam	Babel 1	Sin-gasid 2150
			5	Sin-iribam.	Sumuabu 2060	
		Eal I	4	Sin-iqišam	Sumulailu 2046	An-am (s. of Bel-semea
1		"Sin-mapir -	pr	Şili-İmmer		Arad-sag-sag
1985		Damiq-ili-šu	23	Arad "Sin	Apil-Sin 1996	Sin-eribam (!)
	16	•	225 1/2	Rim ISin 1970	Sin-muballit 1978	Ur-Sin
		(Capture of Isin)	1	Hamurabi 1928	Hammurabi 1958	Arad"Sin
		,	Sippar	Country of the sea.	Sampu-iluna 1915	Rim il Sin
			Imerum	Ilu-ma-ilu 1910	Abesu 1877	Flow Front L
			llumaila	Itti-ili-ni-bi Damiq-ili-šV 1820	Ammiditana 1849	
			Buntahtun ila Manabaltel	Iški bal	Ammi saduka 1812 Samsuditana 1791	Aradil Sin
			Rimanum . Ig!			Rim 1 Sin
			Nür Sin (sangu	Gulkišar 1780	Hittite invasion 176	1)
			,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	- 1		

```
今日
                KİŠ
                                                            d Za-ma-ma . E-me-le-ur-sag .
                            Kiš ki
                                           (El-Oheimir.)
                            Unu(g) ki-ga
田国田
                                           (Warka
                                                            Anu, Mana, Minni, Innina. E-an-na
                URUK
                                           (Mugajjar.)
                                                            L'En-zu, Nanna(r), il Sin Nin-gal.
E'kis-sirgal, E-temenniil. E-kar-zi-da.
不利日国国
                            Urí ki-ma
                TTR
成松大坡
                            A-pi-anki
                AWAN
                            Ha-ma-ziki
松四州縣国
                            Adab ki
                                                            Nin-sun (!) . E-mah .
以州海
                                           (Bismaja
                            Mariki
知性随
                MAFR
                            Uhu ki
政政道
                11Pi
                                                            "Ištar . E.ul-mas .
                            Agadeki
IL 专家们填
                AKKADU
學是以其
                GUTIUM
                             Isin ki-na
西口松口面
                                                            En-ki. Nun iEa. Dampalnunna. E-abzu
                             Erida ki
                E'RIDU
                                           ((16ushahrein.)
D PITT
                             Arar ki. ma
                                           Senkereh.
                                                            dUtu. d Babbar E-babbar
以四国旗
                7 ARSA
                             Ummaki
                                           (Diôcha
                                                            d Sara d Nidaba
到於八角
                                                           d Ningirsu: E-ninnû, dBaur E-sil-sir-sir
Girsu ki dNinâ: E-sal-gilsa, E šeš-šeš-e gàra
dNin-mar ki : E-sal-gilsa;
dEn.lil dNin-lil E, kur
                             Lagaški
過過過
                                           (Tello
問題題
                NIPPUR
                             Nibruki
                                           (niffer.
                             Kéš ki
直包料
                                                            Nin-mah. Nin-tu(d). Nin-harsag. E-mah
                             Arattaki
直代处理
                             Suruppakki
面孔水面
                                           Fara.
                             Kisurra ki
                                           (abuhatab.)
原加村瓜
                             Zababuki
                                                            il Ištar E-zi-kalamma
我,推了四国鱼
                HALLAB
长 四直鱼
                             Kullabki
                             Marad ki da
国和国
                                           (Wannet-es Ja'dun.) " Sar-maradda
                             Ereški
绘》值
庭川淡江公司
                             Kutuki
                                                            Nergal d Ereskigal il Laaz. E. meslam.
                                           (Tell-Ibrahim.)
                KUTHA
                SIPPAR
即严极和
                             Zimbir ki
                                                            Il Samas il Aa il Anunit . E. babbar
                                           (abu-Habba.)
當來自自
                             Ká-dinoirki ra
                BABILU
                                            Babil.
                                                            "Marduk. il Zarpanitu. Amal. il Annunitu. Esapil
                                                            Uras Eide anim [kalama]
一一人国
                                            (Délam.
                DILBAT
到道
                             Nimki
                ELAMTU
                             Susaki
                                                            il Sušinak. Nini šušimki. (E) a-arge-šú.
图里用了
                SUSAN
                                            ( Shush
一冊一個值
                             As-nun-na ki
                                                            il Tišpak.
                DUPLIAS
四十一個首
                             Es-nun-na ki
                   id
图料和
                             Bad-dingirki
                                                            il Kadi
                 DER
                             Bad-ma-daki
 阿阿阿阿阿阿
                 DUR-MATI
自对細科自
                             Bad-urudu-nagari (Tell-Sifz)
                 DUR-GURGURI
                                                            d Nu-(túgi)-mus-da
国国合国国
                             Kazallu ki
                BIT-KARKAR Im ki
 食肝食
                                                            Immer, il Ramman . E.udgalgal.
 愈田半図
                BARSIPPA
                             Barsip ki
                                             (El- Rives
                                                            il Nabū il Tasmetu il Tutu . Ezidi
```

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

Nos. 1, 2

LISTS OF KINGS

Two new fragments of the list of kings have been recovered among the few uncatalogued tablets in the Museum collections. They are of unusual importance in reconstructing the history of Sumer and Akkad before B.C. 3000. Their great interest lies in the fact that they restore the main lines of the Babylonian chronology as set down among Nippur scholars at the end of the Isin dynasty about B.C. 2000. The Greek tradition of Abydenos and Berosos must be traced back to it. They moreover give us new kings and dynasties, they fix for the first time the length of reign and succession of the kings of Akkad, and complete our information about the Guti and the Kings of Kiš.

Nippur standard work on chronology seems to have been a twelve column tablet: six on the obverse from left to right and six on the reverse from right to left. Column 12 is accordingly the reverse of Column 1, and Column 11 is opposed to Column 2. The 10 first columns are a detailed catalogue of the kings, dynasty by dynasty. Columns 11 and 12 sum up the total of kings and years for each royal city among the 11 which had in turn, once or more, the honor of being capital of the kingdom. The lower part of Column 12 is a last total of the kings and years of all the 11 cities together.

The royal canon when complete would be a most precious document and would help us to fix the lines of Babylonian history from the legendary time of the kings after the flood, down to the end of the Isin dynasty. We would learn the names of the kings, the length of their reigns, their relation of father and son, the dynasty to which they belong, the name of their capital, the

peculiarities of its foundation; the total of kings and years for each dynasty; how many dynasties successively or at intervals reigned in the same capital; the order of the dynasties. Unfortunately our evidence is very fragmentary. Not one tablet has been preserved in relative completeness. The biggest fragment is scarcely a half of it. Top and bottom of all columns are broken off, and the mangled text calls for necessary reservations. Before the new fragments had been recovered, even the names of the 11 royal cities were uncertain. We knew at the best that from the flood to Enlil-bani of Isin 134 kings, or 130 to Damigilišu of the same dynasty, had governed the land. The number of years which had elapsed during the same period of time was figured as 28,875 or 32,243, according to the list of 134 or 130 kings. And all attempts to supply by indirect computation the missing portions of the text seemed fruitless and misleading, as will be proved by a study of the new fragments.

Even the new and welcome information supplied by them does not blind us to the fact that absolutely reliable chronology is actually out of question, not only because a legendary number of years is attributed to the kings of the first dynasty of Kiš (some 6, 7, 8 or 9 hundred years each), but because the texts so far published do not agree in all details. Whether the various readings have to be traced back to the old scribe or to the modern copyist has to be further established. One tablet published by A. Poebel attributes 125 years to the Guti dynasty, where we have only 124. The total number of the kings of Kiš is read 51 by Poebel and 38 by Hommel. And should all modern copies of the damaged fragments be correct, a fact has become more and more forcible: there was not one, but many royal lists, kept up to date in Nippur with each new reign, as is proved by the various computations of 134 and 139 kings. Various readings might be incorporated in the new copy, e. g., the names of the successors of Šargani-šarri in Poebel No. 3 and in the new fragment. The common use of two languages, Sumerian and Akkadian, might lead to a translation of the proper names

and be a source of confusion. The most striking discrepancies are manifested by a comparison of the Nippur tradition with a text originating from Kiš (Oheimir) and published by Scheil. Here Queen Azag-Bau is the supposed founder of the (4th?) dynasty of Kiš, where she reigned 100 (or 14) years. Nippur text ignores Azag-Bau except as the mother of the first king Baša-Enzu. Rival cities of Sumer and Akkad had more than one local tradition. The problem of parallel dynasties is one of the most troublesome for Babylonian chronologists. We should wisely refrain from forcing any new name of a king into a gap of the Nippur list, until it is well established that it did really belong to it.

Our material for reconstructing early chronology between B.C. 4000 and 2000 includes the following tablets or fragments: Already published:

- 1. CBS. 13981. Nippur fragment. It gives the beginning and the end of the list of kings. Its text extends across Cols. 1, 2, 3 and 10, 11, 12. It has a total of 134 kings.
- 2. CBS. 13994. Nippur fragment.² Its text corresponds to portions of Cols. 1, 2 and 7, 8 (Dynasty of Akkad).
- 3. CBS. 13293. Nippur fragment.³ Its text covers portions of Cols. 1 and 12, and gives a total of 139 kings.
- 4. CBS. 19797. Nippur fragment. The reverse is a catalogue of the dynasties of Ur and Nisin early published by H. V. Hilprecht.⁴ The obverse has been identified by A. Poebel⁵ with Cols. 1 and 2 of the list of kings. It is probably a late copy made at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon.
- 5. CBS. 15365. Nippur fragment. No facsimile, but only a translation of the reverse has been given by Poebel. Fr. Hommel claims to have been the first to identify the fragment

¹ A. POEBEL, PBS. Vol. V, No. 2; Vol. IV, 1, p. 73.

² A. POEBEL, PBS. Vol. V, No. 3; Vol. IV, 1, p. 78.

² A. Poebel, PBS. Vol. V, No. 4; Vol. IV, 1, p. 80.

⁴ BE. Vol. XX, 1, pl. 30, No. 47 and pl. XV.

⁵ PBS, V. No. 5; Vol. IV, 1, p. 82.

⁶ PBS. Vol. IV, 1, p. 81.

⁷ In J. B. Nies, Ur Dynasty Tablets (1920), p. 205 and note 4.

and to give a correct interpretation of the text. The original is missing, a fact much to be regretted, as the text is obviously a portion of Col. 11, and, if correctly copied, supplies unique information. A city, the name of which is lost, but is supposed by Hommel to have been Upi, was 6 times a capital, with [11?] kings who reigned 125 years. We know only 1 kingdom of Upi with 6 kings who reigned 99 years. And no known city has been a capital so many times (Uruk 5, Kiš 4, Ur 3 times). It is not easy to reconcile this evidence with the other chronological data.¹

6. V. Scheil: "Les plus anciennes dynasties de Sumer et d'Akkad." A large single column tablet, originating from Kiš (Oheimir). Its text, parallel to Nippur list Cols. 6, 7 and 8, was, to the present day, the only catalogue of the dynasties of Upi, Kiš, Uruk, Akkad, Uruk, to the Guti invasion between B.C. 2250 and 3000. Unfortunately the lower part of the obverse is broken off, depriving us of reliable information on the kings of Akkad from Sargon to Šargani-šarri. This gap is now bridged over by the new fragments.

The new fragments:

7. CBS. 14220. Nippur fragments. The main portion has been published in the *Museum Journal*, December, 1920. It is the first publication of the Nippur list, Cols. 4 to 9, with a few signs of Cols. 3 and 10 very useful to link it up with the text of the fragment CBS. 13981. It does not belong to the same identical tablet. Their thicknesses are different. It is still more damaged. Top and bottom of all columns are missing. Its importance lies in the fact that it allows a complete survey of the list. The four new dynasties of Kiš, Ḥamazi, Adad, Mari, complete the number of the 11 royal cities, which should read as follows:

¹ It has been omitted by POEBEL, and simply mentioned as possible 24th to 29th dynasties-PBS. Vol. IV, 1, p. 95.

² Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscript., Oct., 1911, p. 606.

```
Kiš
        4 times capital of the kingdom, 51(?) kings.
                                                      18000 . . . years.
Uruk
        5 times capital of the kingdom, 22 kings,
                                                       2610... years.
Ur
        3 times capital of the kingdom, 13 kings.
                                                        396 years.
Awan
        1 time capital of the kingdom.
                                         a kings.
                                                        356 years.
Hamazi 1 time capital of the kingdom,
                                         I king.
                                                          7 years.
Adab
        1 time capital of the kingdom.
                                         1 king.
                                                         go years.
        1 time capital of the kingdom,
Mari
                                         2... kings.
                                                         30... years.
Upi
        1 time capital of the kingdom.
                                        6 kings.
                                                         oo years.
Akkad 1 time capital of the kingdom, 12 kings,
                                                        197 years.
Gutium 1 time capital of the kingdom, 21 kings,
                                                        124 years + 40 d
        1 time capital of the kingdom, 11 kings,
                                                        150 years.
                                    (or 16 kings.
                                                        225 1/2 years).
11 cities, down to Enlil bani of Isin:
                                       134 kings.
                                                      28876 years
    (or down to Damig ilišu of Isin:
                                       130 kings.
                                                      32243 years).
```

It is evident that the number of kings of Kis is too high by perhaps to units, but as we do not know the exact number of kings of Mari, it is better not to attempt to correct it, till another text has been found. The number of years calls for a higher criticism. We are faced with a well-known problem. How could the early kings live such a fabulous number of years? Or what was the length of their years? The moon god, the lord of knowledge, is the first regulator of times. The reappearance of the new moon, its wanderings or stations across the sky marked the first known periods of weeks and months. We do not know when the solar year was first in use. A second Adar. or extra thirteenth month every four years, simply establishes the fact of a primitive cycle of 12 lunar months. system is secondary. Babbar of Larsa was considered as the son of the moon god of Ur. Perhaps the first kings after the flood had no command of well-developed writing. A greater part of tradition was trusted to memory. That tradition as expressed in our list of kings attributes a high number of years to the earliest kings. We are to respect those figures, even when we are presently unable to account for them. Besides, the fragmentary condition of our documents prevents any checking of them.

The four new dynasties of Kiš, Hamazi, Adab and Mari take place in the list after Kiš, Uruk, Ur, Awan, and before Upi, Kiš, Uruk, Agade, Guti, Ur, Isin. The new Kiš dynasty may be the second. Such kings of Kiš as Mesilim, Urzage, Lugaltarsi, Alzu(?) may belong to its 4 (or 6) kings. They were contemporary with King Urnina of Lagaš. The 3d dynasty of Kiš is still conjectural. It must perhaps be placed before Mari and Upi. King Eannadu of Lagaš was also king of Kiš.¹

The name of the king of Hamazi, is only partly preserved:

[]-ni-iš. The length of his reign is derived from CBS.
13981, Col. 11, toward the end. In the sum of kings and years for each royal city, it seems natural that Hamazi should take rank after Ur and Awan. The last sign of Col. 11 as preserved in the fragment seems likely the beginning of HA. The city is mentioned on a fragment of stone vase,² one of the earliest inscriptions of Nippur. It is a votive offering to the god Zamama, by Utug patesi of Kiš, son of Bazuzu, who defeated Hamazi. Centuries later on, at the time of Gimil-Sin of Ur, Arad-Nannar³ the powerful high minister boasted, among many titles, to be patesi of Hamasi and Ganhar. Perhaps the city has to be located across the Tiger toward the north-east.

The king of Adab, Lugalanni-mu-un-du, reigned 90 years. His name has been preserved in an official document,⁴ a transfer of land of which we possess a copy of the time of Ammizaduga. His authority was acknowledged in Nippur, and he bore the title of king of the four regions of the world. A full list of the patesis who were dependent from him is given, including the patesis of Al-Halim, Sis, Kiel, Kagalla, Amdama, and some more places. His goddess was probably Nin-mah. The city of Adab (Bismaja) had a temple E-mah. A patesi of

¹ A. POEBEL, PBS, Vol. IV, p. 129.

² H. V. HILPRECHT, OBI., Nos. 108, 109.

⁸ Fr. Thureau Dangin, RA. V, p. 99; Vl, p. 67, 68. In the 43rd year of Dungi lived a patesi of Hamasi named Ur-Adad: Langdon, Drehem No. 52; Genouillac, Trouvaille, No. 69.

⁴ A. Poebel, BE. VI, 2, No. 130; p. 123, and pl. 57.

Adab, Lù dUtu son of Urd..., is known by his seal on a business document of the 8th year of Gimil Sin of Ur.

Mari was a kingdom of the north-west along the Euphrates. An-sis² belonged probably to a Semitic race. His reign lasted

30 years. He was succeeded by []-gi his son.

According to Scheil's tablet, the 4th (?) dynasty of Kiš, with its 8 kings and a total of 586 years, was founded by a woman Azag-Bau, who being queen reigned 100 years. The total was inconsistent with the detail of years of each king, and had been reduced by Scheil to 192 to match it. A new lecture³ of the figures of years of queen Azag-Bau, 14 instead of 100, has further reduced the total to 106. The new fragment introduces into the question an entirely new element. Azag-Bau is no more considered as a queen reigning a certain number of years, but only as the mother of the first king Baša-Enzu. His son and successor Ur-Zamama reigned 6 years according to Scheil's tablet, and at least 20 according to the new fragment. Some more wedges might precede the two visible signs. Unfortunately the fragment just breaks off at that point. And the most interesting total of 7 or 8 kings is lost.

The old Sargon, the founder of Agade, is a great figure of the past. His empire extended probably to the Mediterranean Sea. For the first time we can establish the order of his descendants and the length of their reigns. A small fragment of Cols. 7 and 8 of CBS. 14220, recovered some months after the main portion, just supplies the missing link and the number of years of King Maništešu. It becomes evident that King Naram-Sin, commonly called son of Sargon, was his son in the broad sense of descendant, being in reality his great-grandson.

¹ D. W. MYHRMAN, BE. Vol. III, No. 13: seal. Another patesi of Adab, Habalulé, (AO. 5485, 5494; GENOUILLAC, Trouvaille, No. 25, 71), lived probably at the same time. The: en-en Adab^{kl} me of: Amherst tablets No. 10 belong to an earlier period of the kings of Agade. The patesis of Adab paid tribute to the kings of Ur: EAH. 134; EBH., p. 299, l. 16.

² Or dMuš, or 11 Siru?

² Peizer, OLZ. 1912, col. 108, 154. A. Poebel, ibid., 289-291.

The dynasty of Agade reads as follows:

Sargon reigned	55 years
Rimuš son of Sargon reigned	15 years
Maništešu son of Rimuš reigned	7 years
Naram-Sin son of Maništešu reigned	56 years
Šargani-šarri son of Naram-Sin reigned	25 years

Sargon was king of Kiš before he founded Agade. He calls himself a devotee (ur) of the god Zamama,¹ the patron god of Kiš, perhaps his personal god. In the same way Lugalzaggisi, born in Umma, calls on his patron goddess Nidaba, even when he is the all-powerful king of Uruk. The title of libator (qa-šu-dŭ) may be an actual expression of the rank and function of Sargon in the temple of Zamama. It has a strange savour of the old legend of the boy brought up by Aggi the libator, the adopted child, growing up in the precincts of the temple and rising to the dignity of founder of a great empire. To the last days of Nineveh and Babylon, people never tired of reciting that wonderful legend.

Soon after Šargani-šarri the fragment CBS. 13994 has a computation of its own, a total of 157 years for the 5 kings, which is correct within one year compared with the detail of the new fragment. It is remarkable that it attributes only 24 years to Šargani-šarri, instead of 25 of the new fragment. The only doubtful point, in the poor condition of our damaged fragment, is the number of years, 5 or 7 of king Maništešu. But the number 7 seems to be required by the total given in CBS. 13994. Moreover we have the means of controlling the correctness of the figures in the new fragment by the total as given in Scheil's tablet. We read that 12 kings of Agade reigned 197 years. The last kings of Agade after Šargani-šarri reigned together 39 years, which added to our 158 years amounts exactly to 197 of the total.

Šargani-šarri, according to the famous inscription² on the door socket of the temple of Nippur, was the son not of Naram-

¹Or a libator of the deified king Ur-Zamama, according to Prof. Langdon.

² Published by H. V. HILPRECHT, OBI. No. 2.

Sin but of Da-ti^{-d}En-lil. How this is to be reconciled with the statement of the new fragment is not clear.

More trouble awaits us with the immediate successors of Sargani-šarri. They read as follows in the three documents:

6 1 75	ODC	ODG
SCHEIL'S TABLET	CBS. 13994	CBS. 14220
A-ba-am[Ma-nu-um šarru	Ma-nu-um [šarru]
[Ma-nu-um la šarru	Ma-nu-um [la šarru]
l-gí-gí [l-gí-gí šarru	lr-di [
I-mi-ilu	I-mi šarru	Na-nu [um]
Na-nu-um šarru	Na-ni-[] šarru	I-[
I-lu-lu šarru	E-lu-lu šarru	[]
4 bi 3 mu in-ag	4 bi 3 mu in-ag	

Two documents make good that 4 kings reigned together 3 years. They agree more or less about their names and order: Igigi, Imi-ilu, Na-ni-um or Na-nu-um, and Ilulu or Elulu. CBS. 13994 insists that they were kings (šarru), CBS. 14220 has more varil instead of Igígí and Imi-ilu. scribe uncertain about the lecture of the names, or did he feel authorized to translate them? But what are we going to do with the two first lines which read Sumerian in Schell's tablet and good Semitic in the other fragments? Are they a short sentence expressing that in the general confusion nobody knew who was the legitimate king, or are they proper names? Manum was king, but not counted as king, or did not reign at all. fact between Šargani-šarri and Dudu and Šu-gar-kib the last 2 kings of Agade, we want 5 kings to make good the total of 12. It is too early to give a definite answer to that question which. after all, is only a secondary one.

The last contribution of the new fragments concerns the domination of the Guti. They ruled the land 124 years and 40 days, or 125 years and 40 days according to CBS. 13981. Not in vain are they called the people (ugnim, ummanu) of the Guti. They were tribes from the East, precursors of the Cassites and the Medes. They were indeed hordes without a king. Out

of a total of 21 rulers we recover in full the names of the first four, and partly the names of 8 to 11.

1	Imbia ruled	5 years
2	Ingišu ruled	7 years
3	Warlagaba ruled	6 years
4	larlagarum ruled	3 years
8	[]-gub	
9	[]-ti	
10	[]-an-gab	
11	[]-bi	

Some more Guti kings are known like Sar-a-ti-gu-bi-ši-in, Šarlak, Lasirab, Enrida-pizir, Sium, Arlagan.¹ Their place is not fixed in the list. The last king was Ti-rí-ga-an.

8. CBS. 14223. A small fragment, part of Col. 1. The reverse presents that smooth surface characteristic of a blank before or after a final summing of Col. 12. The fragment is much damaged, its reading is uncertain. The names otherwise unknown may belong to the first dynasty of Kiš. In that case it is remarkable that the length of their reigns is unusually near human estimate.

No. 2. CBS. 14223

COLUMN I

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	
Te[]	Te []
[] 70 mu [ni-ag]	reigned [] 70 years.
Ba-la-gi-na nu [].	Balaginanu[]
75 mu ni-ag	reigned 75 years.
Na-an giš-li-is(?)-ku?	Nangišli išku
] mu ni-ag.	reigned [] years
• • • • • • • • • •	

¹ A. T. CLAY, YOS. Vol. I, No. 13: When Arlagan was king of Guti, to Nin-gurra, mother of Umma, Nam-mah-ni patesi of Umma, built and restored her old temple.

No. 1. CBS. 14220

COLUMN III

[30 mu ni-ag].
[E-lu]-lu
[25]-mu ni-ag.
]Ba-lu]-lu
[36] mu ni-ag.
[4] lugal
[mu-bi 120+]51 ib-ag.
[Uriki.] giš tukul ba-sīg

.

reigned 30 years.
Elulu
reigned 25 years.
Balulu
reigned 36 years.
4 kings
reigned 171 years.
Ur was defeated by arms

COLUMN IV

[.. mu] ni-ag.
4(?) lugal
mu-bi 3600+192 ib-ag
Kiš^{ki} giš tukul ba-sīg
nam-lugal-bi
Ha-ma-zi^{ki} šú ba-túm
Ha[-ma]-zi^{ki} a
[]-ni-iš
[lugal] àm
[.. mu] ni-ag

reigned [] years.
4(?) kings
reigned 3792 years.
Kiš was defeated by arms.
The kingdom
passed to Hamazi
In Hamazi
[]niš
being king
reigned [] years

COLUMN V

Adab^{ki} šú ba-túm
Adab^{ki} a
Lugal-an-ni mu-un-dū
lugal ám
90 mu ni-ag
1 lugal
mu-bi 90 ib [ag]
Adab^{ki} giš tukul ba-sīg
nam-lugal-bi
Ma-rī ^{ki}šú ba-túm

passed to Adab.
In Adab.
Lugal anni mundu.
being king
reigned 90 years.
I king
reigned 90 years.
Adab was defeated by arms.
The kingdom
passed to Mari.

Ma-ri^{ki} a
An-sir lugal-ám
30 mu ni-ag
[]-gi dumu[

In Mari.
Ansir being king reigned 30 years.

[]-gi son of [

.

COLUMN VI

mu-bi 99 ib-ag.

Upi^{ki} giš tukul ba-sīg
Nam-lugal-bi
Kiš^{ki} šú ba-túm
Kiš^{ki} a
Bá-ša d En-7u
dumu A7ag d Ba-ú ge
lugal-ám
25 mu ni-ag
Ur d Za-mà-mà
dumu Bá-šad En-7u ge
[...+] 20 mu ni-ag

reigned 99 years.
Upi was defeated by arms
The kingdom
passed to Kiš.
In Kiš
Baša-Enzu
son of Azag-Bau
being king
reigned 25 years
Ur-zamama
son of Baša-Enzu
reigned 20 [+..] years

COLUMN VII

[qa-šu]-dŭ ur^dza-mà-mà lugal A-ga-dė^{ki} galu A-ga-dė^{ki} mu-un-da-dū-a lugal-ám 55 mu ni-ag Rî-mu-uš dumu Šár-ru-ki-in 15 mu ni-ag Ma-ni-iš-te-šu [dumu Rî-] mu-uš 7 [mu ni-ag] Na-ra-am [il Sin] dumu Ma-ni-[iš-te-šu] 56 mu ni-[ag] Šár-ga-ni šàr-rî

libator, devotee of Zamama, king of Akkad, who founded Akkad, being king, reigned 55 years. Rimuš son of Sargon reigned 15 years. Maništešu [son of Ri-]muš [reigned] 7 [years] Naram-[Sin] son of Mani[štešu] reigned 56 years Šargani-šarri

dumu Na-ra-am ¹ Sin 25 mu ni-ag Ma-nu-um šar[rum] Ma-nu-um la [šarrum] Ir-di [] Na-nu [um]	son of Naram-Sin reigned 25 years Manum [- šarrum] Manum la [šarrum] Irdi [] Na-nu [um]
<i>I-</i> []	I-[,]
•••••	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
	COLUMN VIII
ugnim Gu[-ti-um ^{ki}] lugal nu-ub-tug Im-bi-a 5 mu ni-ag	The people of Gutium had no king Imbia ruled 5 years.
In-gí-šù	Ingišu
7 mu in-ag Wa-ar-la-ga-ba	ruled 7 years. Warlagaba
6 mu in ag	ruled 6 years
Ia-ar-la-ga-rum	Iarlagarum
3 [+] mu ni-ag	ruled 3 [] years.
[]	
$[\dots mu ni-ag]$	ruled years
[mu ni-ag]	
	ruled years
[]	
$[\dots mu ni-ag]$	ruled years
[]-gub	gub
$[\dots mu ni-]ag$ $[\dots]-ti$	ruled years.
$[\dots mu]$ ni - ag	ruled years.
[]-an-gab	an-gab
[mu] in-ag	ruled years
$[\ldots]$ bi	bi
[mu in-]ag	ruled years
••••	
	COLUMN IX
[2] mu ni-aa	rulad [a] vare
[2] mu ni-ag 21 lugal	ruled [2] years
21 ingai	21 kings

mu-bi 124 ud 40 ugnim Gutium ^{ki} giš tukul ba-sīg [nam-]lugal-bi [šú] ba-túm 124 years 40 days. The people of Gutium was defeated by arms The kingdom passed to

COLUMN X

[dumu Gimil-ì-lí-]šu [21 mu in-]ag [Iš-me ^d da]-gán [dumu I-din ^d] da-gán

[son of Gimilili]šu reigned [21 years] [Išme-da]-gan [son of Idin-]dagan

Nos. 3, 6, 9

THE END OF THE 3RD UR DYNASTY: IBI-SIN AND IŠBI-IRRA

The following documents throw a new light on the events which marked the end of the 3rd Ur dynasty. We knew that Ibi-Sin, the last king of Ur, was taken prisoner to Elam, and the royal power passed from Ur to Isin. But we now hear that Išbi-irra, before being king of Isin and founder of the new dynasty, was a rebel supported by Elam in his fight against the legitimate king of Ur. Himself was not a Sumerian. And, worst of all, he seems to have very early extended his control over Nippur, where he was proclaimed true ruler, all of which could not be done, unless he was the effective protector of the famous shrine of Enlil. Ibi-Sin complains bitterly that Enlil has returned evil unto Sumer, given the pastorate of the land to an unclean dealer, and the royalty to a man who was not of Sumerian race. This is a new proof of the Semitic origin of the kings of Isin, as opposed to the Sumerian kings of Ur.

The site of the city of Isin is not yet known. But the official despatch of Ibi-Sin makes clear that the Semite Išbi-irra and Elam his ally, in their drive south past Nippur, will find in arms against them the patesi of Kazallu and the patesi of Girsu.

The probable location of Isin should be looked for in the region north of Nippur toward Babylon. Perhaps Kazallu was a fortress east of Girsu, guarding the passage of the Tiger in the region of Kut-el-Amara. Bašanumušda would be at the head of the Sumerian army covering the kingdom of Ur, and cutting Išbi-irra from Elam. A body of auxiliary troops is sent to him under the command of Nabbia for the protection of Kazallu. The king in person will shortly join the main forces.

Later on we hear that a welcome help has been sent by Enlil to Ibi-Sin from the mounts of Martu, to counteract the efforts of Elam. Troops of Amurru are spreading in the land. Thanks to them he will hit Elam in the face and beat Išbi-irra. It is not certain whether the new ally or Išbi-irra himself is described as: "the man of Maer, the foreign delegate (sukkallu), acting as priest of Šamaš." Anyhow these are stormy days and Ibi-Sin prays that they may pass over.

The last document seems to explain to a certain extent the conditions of Išbi-irra's revolt, and why he is called an unclean dealer. As an official of the king of Ur, he was probably sent to the city of Isin on business (kaskal). His special errand was to buy large quantities of barley, perhaps rations (še-ba) for the troops. Documents from the time of the old Sargon mention exportations of grain from Agade and the region of Babylon to the south. Nippur standard weight was to be used, and the expense amounted to some 20 silver talents. At that moment. North Babylonia was fairly overrun with foreign bands of Amurru or Martu people. With their complicity or acting by order, Išbi-irra forced his way into the city of Isin. Armed with his measure or bushel (gurru), he entered all the granaries and probably seized all the stored supplies. It was his first act of rebellion and of government. The invasion of the Martu, that severed regular connections with the capital, gave him a welcomed opportunity.

No. 3. CBS. 14224. Letter of Ibi-Sin to Baša-numušda patesi of Kazallu. Išbi-irra has revolted, and been proclaimed

king in Nippur. Anyhow the king of Ur will make a stand. Troops are despatched to the patesi. The king himself will join the army. The patesi of Girsu Lugal . . . sir has received the same orders. Together with the patesi of Kazallu they shall watch Išbi-irra. Hard times are coming on Sumer. Let the will of the gods be accomplished.

The two half erased signs at the end of the letter are perhaps an indication of a series.

No. 6. CBS. 14230. The tablet is broken. But it certainly was a copy of the previous letter, followed by 17 lines of the text of a new letter, addressed accordingly to the same Baša-numušda patesi of Kazallu. We trace here the official practice of sending important documents in duplicate. Events were developing. A new ally, Arad-gina, perhaps a brother of the king, is mentioned. The text is too broken, to make clear whether he had a special mission near Išbi-irra. A graceful command was repelled. But the hopes of Ibi-Sin do not abate. From the mounts of Martu help is coming. He will beat Elam and Išbi-irra. The land will be restored to peace and order. So runs the letter at a time when the issue of the fight was still uncertain.

No. 9. CBS. 2272. Fragment of letter of Ibi-Sin? Išbi-irra is sent to Isin on business, to buy barley. Grains were preserved in shafts or silos (dunnu), measured by gurru, paid on Nippur standard silver weight and shipped by special má-gúr boats. Great troops of Martu people had gathered in the land. Perhaps barley was stored as rations for them.

No. 3. CBS. 14224

OBVERSE

àš Bá-ša ^d nu-muš-da pa-te-si Ka-zal-lu^{ki} ù-na-a-dú(g) ^d I-bi ^{il} Sin lugal-zu Na-ab-bi-a Unto Baša-Numušda patesi of Kazallu thus speaks Ibi-Sin thy king: Nabbia [nam-]erin tab-ba(?) mu-ra-ri1-a-na nam-pa-te-si Ka-zal-luki šú mu-ra-gál mà-e tab-ba(?) nam-erin-zu dugud-da-zu myself as support...thy heavy troops in-nu-ù . . .]dim? galu-mu-e a-na aš-ám ši-in-gál(?) àš Iš-bi il ìr-ra ugu-mu-šú igi-ni im-ma-ši-in-si(g) ù mà-e ù-mu-un-šub ga-ám-gub en-na Iš-bi il ir-ra kur[-šú(?)]ne-in-gi-a a-rá nu ... za-e Lugal []-sir pa-te-si Gir-sukige a-na aš-ám[]....gál-la

ud-bi šú la-ba-an-láh-gi-ám

Sumer-ge be-ba-ab-dú(g) a-a d En-lil dú(g)-ga dú(g)-ga-ni with his auxiliary troops which he brings along, for the patesiate of Kazallu I have appointed unto thee:

All together my men, shall be there.

As for Išbi-irra, against me, he has raised his face, and I am to submit. Well. I will make a stand. So long Išbi-irra, is... back into the mounts, so long no... Thyself and Lugal . . . sir patesi of Girsu all together being unto that day not coming back.

REVERSE

..... in order to return] ib(?)-gi-gi-da a-rá mi-ni-ib-si(g)-ám(?) then, overpowering him. î-ne-šú d En-lil-li Sumer Now Enlil has returned evil unto Sumer. búl mu-un-a-gi a-ka.... kur... At the order... issuing from the 1-ta-è-ne mounts... nam-sib kalam-ma šú [for the pastorate of the land.... î-ne-šú d En-lil-li Now Enlil, galu im šam-šam nu-lub-ba.... unto an unclean clay dealer . . . àš Iš-bi il ìr-ra numun Sumer-ra unto Išbi-irra who is not of пи-те-а nam-lugal-la mu-na-an-sum ga-nam sir.....na dingir-ri-e-ne

Sumerian race has given the royalty. Well may the... of the gods of Sumer be proclaimed, May the commands of the father Enlil be accomplished.

No. 6. CBS. 14230

be-bi-da-aš

OBVERSE

.... has returned evil unto Sumer... Su mer húl mu [-.... issuing from ... for the pastorate]-ta-è-ne nam-sib-kalam[of the land.....

¹ Alik tapputî.

[d En-lil-]li galu-im-šo		Now Enlil unto an unclean clay dealer
I'm hi du mal annumana Saman		unto Išbi-irra, who is not of Sumerian
13-[01-11-14] numum Sume	-ra nu-me-a	race
nam-lugal mu-na-an-sur	24 :	has given the royalty.
ga-[nam [-na ding		Well, may the of the gods
		_
Sumer-ge be-ba-ab-dú(g)		of Sumer be proclaimed,
a- a d E n - lil d u (g)- g a d u (g		may the commands of the father Enlil
	be-bi-da-aš	be accomplished.
en-na šes [mu-un-ri-a	Now brother, that he has
		brought,
Iš-bi-ìr-ra [] sir-ri	Išbi-irra, has removed
Sumer []- <i>ka</i>	Sumer
ù-ba-gar []en zé-en	be placed, you are,
ka [ni-bal-e-eš-e	order, they transgressed,
galu tab-ba(?) dim uru[]-gi-na-ta	Like the companion, the city
		from
ù za-e Arad-gi-na [] Iš-bi-ìr-ra	and thyself Aradgina Išbi-
the first section of		irra.
í-ne-šú inim-du(g)-ga gí-g	í-dé	Now, to repel a graceful command,
[]-dŭ-dŭ-ù-zu he-ni-ib-		thou hadst manifested, that it
j-un-un-in-in-in-in-in-in-in-in-in-in-in-in-in	very mov	should be brought
I ha he as a wa		9
[] ba he-ag-e-ne		, they may have done.
	-	

REVERSE

]-an-na(?)-šub ugu-mu-šú overthrow, against me, $nam-ma-\check{s}i-du-un$ [...(?)] may he(?) not proceed. galu Ma-riki ge sukkal ur-ri nam-en-na the man of Maer, the hostile delegate, d Utu ag-e exercising the function of priest of Šamaš í-ne-šú Mar-tu kur-bi-ta dEn-lil now, from the mounts of Martu En-lil á-dáh-mu al-gi has sent as my help, Nimki zag mu-un-tag-gi ù il Iš-bi-ìr-ra I shall strike Elam in front, and beat mu-un-síg-ga Išbi-irra kalama ki-bi gí-gí-dé nam-kalag-ga In order to restore the land to its place, may the strength of the countries kur-kur-ra be-zu-zu increase As for thee, may you not enter a-ma-ru-kam za-e nam-ba-e-tù(r)-e-ne en-zé-en. the storm.

No. 9. CBS. 2272

Aš dI-bî ilSin [] As	for Ibi-Sin
àš Iš-bi-ìr-ra [] con	cerning Išbi-irra
kaskal I-si-in ^{ki} na [] the	road of Isin
še šam-šam-ne (?) im[] in (order to buy barley
ki-lam Nibruki ta-ám še di-di	on	the base of Nippur weight, barley
		was obtained
20 gú kù-babbar ri-ne ba-gar		. amounted to 20 silver talents.
Ka mar-tu galu kúr-ra ša(g) ma-da	By	order of the Martu enemies, now in
uru tù (r)-ra gur-ni tuk-ám	t	he land, who had entered the city,
		seizing his measure,
dun-nu d \bar{u} -a-bi š $a(g)$ I -si-i n^{ki} na	all	the shafts in Isin
ba-an-tu-ur	V	vere visited.
a-da-al-la-bi Mar-tuin[] An	d at present, the Martu
ša(g) kalam-ma-šú ba-an[] is	nto the land are
ukkin-gal-gal aš-aš-bi im-š[i] Gre	eat multitude together
mu mar-tu še-ba sīg-gi nu-mu [] The	e year when the Martu did not
		the stored rations of barley
ugu-mu mu-ta-ni-ib-[] aga	inst me, out of
Lugal-zi 70 gur má-gúr a(?)[] Lu	gal-zi 70 measures by boats
[
má-gúr [boa	ts

No. 4. CBS. 14225

This half tablet is one of the few documents of the Isin dynasty. It is dated in the month of Simanu (June) of King Iterpiša, the eighth ruler since Išbi-irra, probably on the first year of his reign. It is an account of flour in various quantities distributed to officials or servants as rations or monthly salaries. All sorts of grains, chiefly barley (še), were ground in the mills (é-ará), and the flour portioned out as food for various classes of workmen (šà-gal erín). There were many qualities of flour. The best (zid kal) lost half of the weight of the original grain, or two measures of grain gave only one measure of zid-kal. Less refined qualities of flour were called zid-gu, zid-gu-šig, zid-gu-uš. The name of the common flour not sifted at all, is zid-še.

¹ G. REISNER, Tellob, No. 102: VATh, 2268.

All proper names seem to be of Semitic derivation.

OBVERSE

180 q. zid-še Maš-gur-ilu-iddin,1 Itti 180 ga of še flour to Masgur-iluiddin ilNannar-zu and(?) Itti-Nannarzu, 60 ga of gu flour to Šar-apal, 60 q. zid-gu Šar-apal to Nannar-ašarid, il Nannar-ašarid 55 ga 30 q. zid-gu E-ri-îb ilSin 30 ga of gu flour to Erib-Sin, 10 q. zid-gu il Nannar-iddin 10 ga of gu flour to Nannar-iddin 10 q. zid-gu Gimil il Ištar(?)-te-ra-ag 10 qa of gu flour to Gimil-Ištar-terag 10 qa of gu flour, 10 qa of še flour to 10 q. zid-gu 10 q. zid še Ištar-um-mi Ištar-ummi. zid-|gu Á-ki-te-ilu-itti-zu qa of gu flour to Akite-iluittizu, 1-bi dEn-lil-lá to ... bi-Enlilla,

REVERSE

^{il}] Ištar-te-ra-ag 10 q. zid-gu 10 q. zid ^{il}Nannar ašarid

15 qa zid-gu A-bi-ia-tùm 20 q. zid-gu Šar-apal 20 q. zid-gu Šar-apal 20 q. zid-gu Pu-maš-lu itu sig-a-ka 27 kam mu I-te-ir-pi-ša lugal to Gimil-]lštar-terag,
10 qa of gu flour, 10 qa of flour to
Nannar ašarid,
15 qa of gu flour to Abijatum,
20 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
20 qa of gu flour to Šar-apal,
20 qa of gu flour to Pu-mašlu
month of Simanu, the 27th,
year when Iterpiša was king.

No. 5. CBS. 12570

Frontispiece

A SEAL GIVEN BY IBI-SIN TO THE HIGH-PRIEST OF ENLIL.2

The lump of clay in which this seal has been stamped, seems to have preserved for us a real portrait of King Ibi-Sin.

Other portraits have been recovered during the last twenty years: the portrait of Hammurabi of the code-stela found at

A proper name or a measure: 1/2 gur ..?

² Museum Journal, December, 1920 (Vol. XI, No. 4).

Susa, the statue of Gudea patesi of Lagaš, the relief of Naram-Sin on his stela of victory. The newly found portrait of Ibi-Sin in the Nippur collections is unique in several respects. The lump of clay on which it appears was evidently used to seal a package or receptacle of some kind. The clay is black in color; on the underside are seen the imbedded marks made by the knotted strings by which the sealed packet was bound; on the upper surface, on each side, is the impression, very sharp and distinct, of the seal cylinder. Between these two seal impressions are two lines of cuneiform writing. On the seal itself is an inscription from which we learn that the seal used was that of the high-priest of Enlil named Sag-Nannar-zu. We learn further that this seal was a present to the high-priest from Ibi-Sin king of Ur.

The inscription on the seal reads as follows:

^dI-bî ^{il}Sin Ibi-Sin

lugal kal-ga the mighty king lugal uri^{ki} ma the king of Ur,

lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba ge the king of the four regions of the

world

Sag dNannar-zu to Sag-Nannar-zu sangu dEn-lil-lá priest of Enlil, arad-da-ni-ir his servant in-na-ba.

a. has given in present.

The cuneiform inscription on the clay reads:

Ur ^dŠul-pa-è damgar son of Erin-da-an.

This last inscription may have been the address of the parcel or perhaps it was the *damgaru*, the banker himself who sealed the package to prevent its unauthorized opening. We possess some other records of this same banker. As we shall see, his quality of agent or banker is of special interest.

The fact that the seal used in closing the package was a gift from the king is an unusual and important feature, which together with the scene engraved makes of it a unique document in which we may look confidently for a portrait of Ibi-Sin,

the deified king of Ur, the last of his dynasty. On the seal cylinders of the Ur school, the special feature is a seated personage wearing a turban. The identity and quality of this personage has remained a matter of doubt. Whether it was Sin the moon god or the deified king was not clear. In the new

example the question appears to solve itself.

A seal cylinder cut by order of the king as a gift for his servant (arad-da-ni-ir, in-na-ba), is a favor unheard of before the days of Ibi-Sin. All other royal cylinders bear witness to the loyalty of the high officers, servants of the king, with the simple words: arad-zu "thy servant." Whether this special record of the royal gift means a strengthening of the king's authority is doubtful. Ibi-Sin's name portended evil. Under his reign the scepter passed from Ur to Isin. Was this a last attempt to remind independent patesis of their submission to the central power? Thanks to another seal impression from Tello, preserved in the collections at Constantinople, we know that the high intendant in Lagaš, Arad-Nannar, received from Ibi-Sin a seal with the same inscription: arad-da-ni-ir, in-na-ba. This Arad-Nannar had been long an important personage at the court of Ur. Under the precedent king, Gimil-Sin, he already occupied the same high position in Lagas. The name of his father was Ur-Šulpaè, a name identical with that of our actual damgaru. Could it be the same man? The name indeed is the same but the title is different, for in this instance he is not described as a damgaru, banker, but as a high officer or delegate, sukkal-mah like his son Arad-Nannar. Whether he could be acting at times in this capacity and at other times as a banker (damgaru) remains to be proved. In any case we find that in the sixth year of Gimil-Sin, Ur-Šulpaè the damgaru was acting trustee for the farmers attached to the temple of the deified king of Ur.² Temples of the kings of Ur, Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin, were discovered both at Lagas and at Nippur.

¹ MIO. Tello, No. 937.

² Engar é^d Gimil ^USin šú, G. REISNER, Tempelurkund. aus Telloh, No. 62.

The close relationship between the central power of the king and his representatives in neighboring towns was exemplified by the use of seals with the name and full title of the king, together with the name and rank of his local official. A close examination of the present seal impression will show that the scene represented conveys the same idea as the inscription recording the gift. King Ibi-Sin is undoubtedly figured as making a gift to the priest of Enlil or receiving an offering from his hands. Among the productions of the Ur school of engravers this seal is one of the simplest of its kind. It represents the introduction of a person to a seated king or deity, or more generally a scene of adoration. Some of the details, however, set it apart from all other known examples, among which is the absence of the usual beard from the seated figure of the king. The seal is a masterpiece of engraving. Only the best lapidary in the royal city could cut a seal of such refinement and perfection. The whole design including the minute inscription has been cut in hard material like onvx, agate or lapis lazuli, used for making seals in ancient Babylonia. The illustration in the frontispiece showing one side of the lump of clay, is two and a quarter times larger than the original, so that the seal is magnified to that extent.

The engraving shows a scene in the classical style of Ur. It is limited to two personages; the servant or official standing in front of the seated master and looking him straight in the eyes. The king or god, for such he is in fact, holds up gracefully a small two handled cup or vase. There is a smile lurking on both faces. The meaning is clear, for up to the present day in the East, to look at somebody is a favor, to avert the face is a mark of disgrace. In the picture the servant stands with clasped hands before his seated master. The little vase filled with precious ointment may be symbolic of the offering received or of the favor granted by the god.

We can go one step farther and identify the little vase with a sign of the old writing, the pronunciation of which is uncertain, but which has a clear meaning, and is a picture of such a vase. It is the sign for "prayer," REC. 316, which in its natural position looks exactly like the small "alabastron" which the seated god is holding in his fingers.



Such an identification would explain satisfactorily a very common scene on the seal engraving, and throw a new light on the old Sumerian mind and manner. A truly oriental vision of the book of Revelation² pictures the twenty-four elders having "golden vials full of odors which are the prayers of the saints," which they use together with harps in their worshiping. This is not without parallel in the Sumerian texts. cylinder B, we find near the god Ningirsu, among many high officials, his counselor (ad-gi-gi): Lugal-sisá, his high advocate, who takes in hand $(\check{s}u-d\check{u})$, as one would take stylus and tablet, the "prayers" (nam ---, REC. 316) of Lagaš, and intercedes³ for the life of Gudea. Next, the seven priestesses (sal-me), daughters of Bau, attached to the same shrine of Ningirsu, are charged with a special service of vocal prayers (gù-de) and graceful intercession (nam —, REC. 316, šá(g)-ga). Priests of intercessions are elected by sort, attached to various sanctuaries, and the process was important enough to fix the name of the year.

Year⁴ in which was appointed the priest of the intercessions (en nam—, REC. 316) of ^dDungi.

On many other seal impressions, where similar scenes are represented, there is an intermediary protecting deity who leads

¹ Cf. SAK. p. 154, note g, where the meaning of "prayer" is established. Nam —, is often synonym of a-ra-7u.

² V, 8.

³ Ka-šu-gál: to adore, to worship.

⁴ SAK. p. 235, h.

the worshiper by the hand, each of them lifting his free hand to his mouth in sign of adoration. Sometimes vacant spaces are filled with other figures: a nude attendant or two, and stars, crescent moon, or various symbols. In contrast to these more elaborate scenes, the present engraving attains nearly a Greek simplicity.

Such scenes of adoration existed before the time of the kings of Ur and survived them. The simple fringed garment of the servant, the high flounced mantle of the god belong to a long Sumerian tradition. The last rich frilled mantle, woven to imitate the locks of a sheep's fleece and identified with the Greek mantle καυνάκης by L. Heusey, was reserved to gods, and also to deified kings.

But the low seat covered with three rows of the same fringed woolen cloth is a characteristic feature of all cylinders cut in Ur and of those that followed the Ur school. In connection with the turban, the new headdress of the gods, it forms a landmark¹ in the field of Babylonian art and history. From the earliest down to the last Chaldaean empire, a high conical headdress, adorned with several pairs of horns, was the proper dress and crown of the gods. Very archaic seal impressions represent gods and goddesses bareheaded or with long, hanging hair. The turban is a human headdress from Gudea down to Hammurabi. Could it be at the same time the headdress of the gods? How could history account for such a change in religious tradition? We know that King Hammurabi belonged to the new race from the West, the Amurru, and that, long before him, many strangers from the same western region, the Martu, were established in Babylonia. At the time of the first dynasty of Babylon new figures of gods appear on the seal cylinders by the side of the old ones. They are standing up, armed with mace, dressed in a short garment reaching to the knees and wearing the turban. We have to look upon them as so many figures of the god Martu.

¹ L. LEGRAIN, Cat. des cyl. ori. de la collection Louis Cugnin, p. 16-17, p. 26-27.

so long as they were not identified with Adad, Ramman, Ninib¹ or Nergal.

The city of Ur lies on the western limits of the Babylonian plain. But did the kings of Ur belong to the Sumerian or Martu-Amurru race? They were most probably Sumerian. Išbi-irra who rebelled against the king of Ur, and founded the kingdom of Isin, is reproached by Ibi-Sin for not being of Sumerian race. But from Ur-Engur, who founded the dynasty, down to Ibi-Sin, who ruined it, what was the position of the rulers as deified kings, beside the old moon god Sin worshiped in Ur? Can we imagine the old moon god wearing the turban, the Sumerian human headdress? Gudea wore a turban, and Ningirsu his god had a high horned mitra. Was the turban style forced upon the moon god at the time when the kings of Ur were worshiped as gods and probably identified with him?

It is too early to give a positive answer to all these questions. Whatever was the racial origin of the turban, once a human headdress, it became also a divine headdress. The custom prevailed at the time of the kings of Ur and in their own capital. The seated gods wearing turbans may represent the deified kings and also Sin the patron god. Soon after the dynasty of Ur they certainly represent Sin as well as some more western gods imported at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon.

Strong literary tradition speaks of the horns of Sin, which may be simply the symbol of the crescent moon and of his long, dark, lapis-lazuli beard. All seal cylinders and impressions of seals of the school of Ur represent the seated god wearing the turban and with a long beard hanging on his breast. Our clay relief is nearly the only known example where the seated god is beardless. It cannot be a goddess. We have no examples of female figures wearing the turban. The complete statue of Gudea is the standard evidence of an entirely shaven man wearing the turban. The worshiper of our relief has the same shaven head, the same gesture of clasped hands, the same fringed

¹ Nin-urta. Yale Syllab., No. 288 (YOS. I).

mantle as Gudea in front of his god. It will be an easy step to identify him with the priest of Enlil in Nippur. Last of all, the beardless king-god, so near to humanity, is not entirely shaven as would befit liturgical cleanliness. Just a lock of hair is playing on the forehead and on the neck. The large, set eyes, the high cheek bones, the curved nose, the thin lips, the firm and round chin complete an interesting attempt to portray King Ibi-Sin, the last king of Ur, with a necklace and arm-band as becomes his majesty.

No. 7. CBS. 14231

No. 16. CBS. 14229

Lists of temples, names of several gods of Ur, Nippur, and perhaps Babylon. The two fragments are duplicates of an original two column tablet. Among the total preserved are: 12 temples of Nindar; 15 temples of Ninib at Nippur; 9 temples of Šuzianna; and 14 "additions" (supplementary names?) to the temple mountain of Dungi at Ur. The list when complete would be a welcome historical and theological document expounding the various aspects of one god. Suzi-anna: "the brilliant one" or the "living one" of heaven, is certainly the companion (dam-banda) of Enlil,1 the mother of the moon god Sin, the goddess Nin-lil. Among the names of her temples is mentioned twice the Dusagas, the famous brick tower or ziggurat² of Nippur. Nin-dar is a priest god (lugal-en); he was perhaps the husband of Nina, a priestess goddess, whose activity in the interpretation of dreams and oracles is well known.³ He had a temple in Girsu. Another priest god, Nin-dub, had equally a temple in Girsu, was called high priest of oracles of Eridu, had charge of the censers,4 and was holding the tablet of destiny

¹ Dam banda ^dEnlil-li ge, um-me-da ^dSin-na-ge, III R. 67, 25 a; 68, 12-13 c.

² Cf. É-sagaš: zuggurat Nipuri, 11 R. 50, 6 a.

³ Cyl. A of Gudea.

⁴ Gud. Cyl. B. IV 4: iših-mah Eridakt ka ge, na-izi ba-ni-si(g).

in Gudea's dream. The names of Nindar's temples are not preserved in the fragments.

A name of Marduk of Babylon: Silig-mulu-šar, "ruler of all mankind," in the last lines of Rev. II would suggest that the list included several Akkadian gods.

More fragments of the list are known, and will supply in the future a correct reading of some difficult names:

OBVERSE I 12 é d[Nin-dar-]a 12 temples of Nindar. OBVERSE II lion head sag-ug1 bu chief temple ... great mountain ... sag-é-ib kur-gal e en ^dNin-urta² gà-gà [the lord Ninib ... šuba'é ne-in-gub bár za-gìn⁴ [ne-in-gar] splendor arising in the temple, shrine established as a jewel. 15 é dNin-urta Nibru [ki] 15 temples of Ninib in Nippur. é-gà-dùl-da dub-sag d . . . [temple depot and store, front ofid dedin ki-azag(?) ki-lam(?) ... of Edin, pure place thy foundation, great princely [-] temen-zu dū-gal-nun(?)-na construction.].... gà šú-gí old depot REVERSE I the dusagaš dù-sag-aš [the yard inside túr ša(g) ... [noble son of the great mount gorgeous dumu-nun kur-gal-la gú-me-ir-me-ri5 dšu-zi-an-na dam ban-da [Suzianna, the companion of [Enlil], Dusagaš, splendor arising in the temdù-sag-aš šuba-é ne-in-gub bár za-gìn ple, the shrine established as a jewel. [ne-in-gar]

¹ Gud. Cyl. B. XIII, 23.

² Yale Syll., No. 288 (YOS. 1).

³ Zîmu, nă-šuba : abam nisigti.

⁴ hulalu, Br. 11804.

⁵ hunnubu, V R. 19, 8 a.

10 lal 1 é dŠu-zi-an-na-ge		9 temples of Šuzianna.
Kéški en sig-alam ¹ [2]	Keš lord of figures ¹
muš ša(g)-túr³ gal-dím im-ri⁴ []	Serpent great builder of embryos, moist clay
é dNin-har-sag-ka ki-súr-ra []	temple of Nin-harsag, inclosure
Kéški Arattaki ša(g)-zu ša(g)-sig		Keš, Aratta, increasing, decreasing,
		raising ⁵
túr ⁵ šab-il []	the yard like a vase
ug-gal dEdin-na he-gal da-dŭ[6]	great lion of Edin, overgrown abun-
		dance
bar -sag-gal $ka+x^7+ka+x$ -ta []	great mount, from the
$\S{a}(g)$ $\stackrel{d}{a}mes(?)$ $\S{u}(?)$ -an-[]	inside Marduk (?)

• • • • • • • • • • • • •		
D		
Reverse II		
é-sag-ni-ri(?)-zu á-dam-ma ⁸ mulu? šar	thy chief temple, troops of animals	
gà-nun temen dDun-gi mi-ni-ib-gal	great store foundation of Dungi, great	
gà-nun-na	of the great store,	
[]-šu-ul maḥ-di ⁹ im-gâl šub kalam	perfect, exalted (hero), south	
gal-la	wind, ruining the great land,	
gi-ni dú(g)-an-zu nam-tar-ri-ne	steady is thy divine command fixing	
	destinies.	
é-har-sag dDun-gi-an-na-ge	temple mount of the divine Dungi	
šuba-é ne-in-gub bár za-gìn ne-in-gar	splendor arising in the temple, shrine	
	established as a jewel.	
14 dah-hu é-har-sag dDun-gi urîkima	14 additions to the temple mount of	
	Dungi in Ur.	
uru-ki ab-ta še-dím má-ra	cityout of which, like grain poured	
	in boat	
dugud $\S a(g)$ -ta me $\S u$ -ti	heavy out of which commands	

¹ Bunnânu, nabnitu, Br. 7020, 7021: production of statues or of living beings.

are received

² Perhaps: si-sá: mušteširat nabnitu.

³ Šassuru, šaturru, Br. 8010, 8011: foetus.

⁴ Im-ri-a: rušumtu.

⁵ Naša: filling.

⁶ Harâšu, V R. 18 c-d 9-18: ša alpi, ša imêri, ša šabû, ša amêli, ša ganî.

⁷ Ka+še (tukur) or ka+sar or ka+tu?

⁸ Namaššu bulu, V R. 30, 24 g.

⁹ Tizqaru, Br. 1056, or torrent: nahallu, Br. 1057.

```
ba .... temen unù¹-gi - zu .... foundation, thy firm sanctuary, .... šu-gí ŭ-e ám ma-da .... ancient, being the wonder of the land, .... great 7 horns, from top to bottom .... spending blessings .... Marduk .....
```

Rev., Col. 1, was a list of the temples, or names of temples of Nin-harsag or Nin-tud, the mother of the people, the goddess of all fecundity who moulded and created the living creature (bunnânu nabintu), as a sculptor would mould and shape a statue (alam). She was called the great lady (Nin-mah), and her temple in Kéš, was called after her the great temple (é-mah). From Eannatum⁴ down to Hammurabi, her temple was famous. Her shrine⁶ name (dù-sag-ba) resembles very closely the name of Nippur ziggurat (dù-sag-aš). Hammurabi restored her enclosures, and provided a rich food endowment. She had a temple in Girsu⁷ and in Umma, 8 and was worshiped in Susa.9 Rim-Sin the Elamite king reigning in Uruk and Larsa was proclaimed legitimate ruler of Sumer in the temple of Keš, the temple of the great lady (Nin-mab), the foundation raised to heaven (temen-an-ki-bi-da). That great event was recorded in the list of years 10 of the reign.

Keš and Aratta are mentioned in connection with the cult of Nin-harsag as being true symbols of purity. In the temple of Ningirsu, the veil hanging (? sa-lal)¹¹ was pure like Keš and

¹ Maškanu, SAK. p. 214 d.

² Cf. é-pa é-ub-imin-na-ni, Gud. St. D. II, 11-12.

⁸ šu-sar ; karâbu.

⁴ Stela of Vultures: IV, 12; XVIII, 5.

⁶ Code, III, 30-35.

⁶ Stela of Vultures, XVIII, 4.

⁷ Gud. St. A.

⁸ Galu-babbar, SAK. p. 150.

⁹ Baša-Šušinak, Stela IV, 19.

¹⁰ SAK. p. 237, e).

⁴¹ Gud. Cyl. A, XXVII, 2.

Aratta. Gudea had a statue of himself carved and placed in the temple of Nin-harsag. His offerings mentioned in the inscription¹ consisted in a pure basin (dub-pisán-azag-ga) and a throne (giš dúr-gar maḥ nam-nin-ka-ni) of majesty. In later stone reliefs, specially on the kudurrus or boundary stones of the Cassite period, her emblem is a lock of hair or wig.² But this identification is not quite certain. In several instances that W-shaped symbol is upside down,³ and in one case is resting on a knife.⁴

Nin-harsag is mother of gods⁵ and men. One name of her temple is: lion of the goddess Edin. This is another name of the goddess Eru'a, Er-ia; or Šeru'a, the companion of Marduk, goddess of fecundity (bêlit nabnâti, muballidat),⁶ under the name of Zarpanitum.

No. 8. CBS. 14232

Fragment of legend or history, which seems to refer to the priest (en) of Aratta. His words or orders are reported. Aratta is mentioned in Gudea texts along with Keš. The writing of the name comes very close to that of Suruppak the legendary city of Gilgameš and of the flood. Is kin-gi-a the name of the priest of Aratta or a common name for order (takaltu, taklimtum, urtum)? The text numbered 57 lines, was written on a two-columns tablet, and must have been copied several times:

OBVERSE II

har-sag gal-gal im-ma-dib-a sahar-ra hu-mu-na-da-nigin-e kin-gi-a en Aratta^{ki} ge ù-na-a-dú(g) ù-ne-ne-dah the great mountain, which he reaches, may be all surrounded with dust. Kin-gia, the priest of Aratta, commanded (and) added,

¹ Gud. St. A, II, 1-5.

 $^{^2}$ W. J. Hinke, Boundary Stone, fig. 87, 1216, 318, 145, 48. A symbol of virginity according to Dr. J. B. Nies.

^{3 1}bid., fig. 304, 4710, 499, 442.

⁴ Ibid., fig. 117.

⁵ Ur-bau, St. III, 8.

⁶ Chron. P. I, 5; LEHMANN, Šamaš-š-ukin, II, p. 36-37; W. J. HINKE, Boundary Stone, p. 222. THUREAU-DANGIN, Lettres et Contrats, p. 60.

uru-ni kaskal-mušen¹-dún é-bi-ta na-an-na-ra-ab-ri(?)-en mušen-dím ú-ki-sí(g)-ga² uš-sa-ta...[malba³-gál-la-dím nam-[uru gul-gul-la-dím [Aratta^{ki}...[his city, like the wandering bird, out of its nest, may he not attain like the bird out of its nest ... as one become adversary ... as a ruined city ... Aratta ...

No. 10. CBS. 1526

Neo-Babylonian building inscription. Fragment of an octagonal prism.

No. 11. CBS. 14235

Letter or historical record at the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. The fragment belongs to a large three column tablet. Only part of Obv. II is preserved.

OBVERSE II

un-ne [..

i-li-ik gî a-pi .. [

a-šar si-bu-(?)tim ub-ba-tum ..

mer(?)-si-a⁴ i-ṣa-bat i-na pa-ni šarri-im

ú-sik-ma a-na me-sĭg-im⁵ ú-la-ba-ak⁶

ša...mi-ma

ù a-wi-lum a-di la i-na-ḥu

u-ṣur i-ra-aš-ši mi-im-ma

ma-an-nu-um mi-nam a-na-ti ša-nim
i-na-an-di-iš-šu

ša ša-di-i i-te-ni-ti-ķu(?) im(?)-mani-iš

ša la i-šu-ú šar-ra-am ù šar-ra-tam
be-ru-šu ma-an-nu-um

šu-u-ma šu-u-ma mu-su(?)-ra...

he went
in the place of desire, a fence ..?
.... he holds in front of the king

he pressed and forced into a ring

and so long the man does not cease, be watchful, he has everything, nobody should give him any of those things again.

Now the mountains which happen to be desert(?)

which have no king or queen whatever among them,

this and the next portion(?)...

¹ LEGRAIN, Le temps des rois d'Ur, p. 21, n. 3.

² Ginnu, Br. 6077.

³ Mâhiru, Br. 9803.

⁴ Or dŭ-si-a?

⁵ Mesukku, mezugga?

⁶ Labâku, read: dur=rakâsu?

No. 12. CBS. 7095

Clay tag attached probably to a basket of official records or legal documents brought from Suruppak (Fâra) some 33 miles south from Nippur. The writing belongs to an early Sargon period. Suruppak the native city of Gilgameš is seldom mentioned in later texts. The expression: "im-sar" written tablet, is found only in a few legal deeds of the same time and character. Gà-dub-ba, keeper of the tablet basket, is the proper name of the archivist, who was commonly a scribe.

gà-dub
im-sar
dar-bu-bu
lù ur-šá(g)-ga ge
šuruppak^{ki} ta
mu-gub (?)

tablet basket of clay records which Darbubu the man of Uršagga has brought from Šuruppak.

The name of the messenger Darbubu, may be read Darsir-sir, just as the temple of the goddess Bau: É sil-sir-sir, might be read Dar-sir-sir. This ought to help toward a better understanding of the name. The only patesi of Suruppak so far known is Urninkurra.

No. 13. CBS. 6141

Business document of the time of the Ur dynasty, in the 1st year of King Gimil-Sin. A great interest is attached to the seal impression. It is another rare figure of a seated god without a beard. By what we know of Ibi-Sin (No. 5, CBS. 12570), this must be intended as a portrait of the deified king of Ur. Gimil-Sin was the father of Ibi-Sin, and reigned only seven years. The name of the owner of the seal seems to confirm the

¹ Im-sar-a-bi, ki En^aNinâ-ka-ta im-ma-gub (Di-til-la), M1O. Tello, No. 4191; Gà im-sar gâl-la, RTC. No. 304, f. III, 11. Im-sar-ra-e, AO. 5477, r. 5 (RA. VIII, p. 139, 140, n. 4.) CT. XVII, 18, l. 21.

² At the time of Gudea Called the place of oracles, Gud. Cyl. A, XXVI, 9.

theory. It reads as a prayer or invocation to the deified king, a new moon god, the light of his land:

il Gimil il Sin nu-ùr ma-ti-iš-zu arad Gu-za-na.

He is led by his own personal goddess in front of the enthroned king god, who receives his prayers. The small cup or ampulla seems to materialize the offering. The standing goddess leading the worshiper wears a long plaited robe and the proper headgear of Sumerian gods, a high mitre adorned with several pairs of horns. It is remarkable that seated god and worshiper have the same simple fringed garment or shawl. The only difference between them is the turban of the seated king god and the shaven and nude head of his standing servant.

The note reads as follows:

1½ ma-na kù-babbar
sìg-bi 20 gun
ki Ur da-mu ta
il Gimil il Sin nu-ùr ma-ti-iš
šu-ba-ti
igi Lù-šà(g)-ga lù-šu[-i]
igi Lugal dNin-gir-su.
itu maš-dū kú
mu il I-bi il Sin lugal

1½ maneh of silver
its wool (worth) is 20 talents
from Ur-damu,
Gimil-Sin nur matišu
has received.
witness: Lu šagga the barber,
witness: Lugal-ningirsu.
month of Maš-du ku,
year when Ibi-Sin was king.

 $1\frac{1}{3}$ silver maneh is equal to 80 shekels, which gives us a price of 4 shekels the talent of wool. A talent weighs: 24 k. 240 gr., and a shekel: 6 gr. 733 mgr. The proportion of silver to wool was almost exactly 1/900 at the time of Gimil-Sin.

No. 14. CBS. 14225

This broken unbaked clay tablet is a rough copy of the inscription of Šargani-šarri on the diorite door socket from Nippur preserved in the Museum.¹ Unfortunately the top is

¹ OBI., No. 2. CBS. 8751.

missing, where we could expect to find Da-ti Enlil mentioned as the father of Šargani-šarri. The new list of kings makes of him a son of Naram-Sin.

šar akkadimki king of Akkad and of bà-ú-la-ti the kingdom [ilu] en-lil of Enlil: builder of [ba]-dim ekur. [é]-kur [é]ilu en-lil the temple of Enlil in Nippurimki at Nippur [ša] duppam Whoever shall change this [sù]-a [u]-sa-za-ku-ni tablet. ilu En-lil may Enlil and ilu Šamaš Šamaš [išdê]-su [destroy] his foundation and ruin li-il-gu-da. [his posterity].

The end of the tablet shows clearly that the length of the broken portion must not exceed 2 or 3 lines. The actual mention of Dati Enlil would require more room and seems doubtful.

No. 15. CBS. 14227

Historical fragment. King Sargon (Šar-ru-gi), founder of the dynasty and city of Agade, is quoted as having received the kingdom from Enlil. A short note concerning the temple of Nippur confirms the result of the excavations, viz., that it was adjoining the quay, or more properly the great boats of the quay.

OBVERSE I

Sag-ki-gid-da¹ dEn-lil-lá ge

The splendor of Enlil,

¹ na'ru, nikilmû, Br. 3650, 3651: Aspect showing at a long distance.

50

Kis^{ki} $gu(d)$ -an-na-dím i im- $u(g)$ -ga-ta	is like Kiš the heavenly bull towering	
	above the dust of the dead;	
é ki unú ^{ki} gu(d)-mah-dím sahar-ra	the temple is like Uruk the great bull	
mi-ni-ib-gaz-ne(?)	treading down the earth,	
[]-bi Šàr-ru-gi lugal a-ga-dêki ra	unto Sargon, king of Akkad	
[]-elam šú dEn-lil-li	towards Elam, Enlil,	
[] nam-lugal mu-na-an-sum-ma-ta	the kingdom, since he has given	
t] want angue was the art some met a	unto him,	
[a]- ga - de^{ki} e (?) $dingir$ - ri	Akkad, of the gods	
*****	.,,,,	
Reverse II		
[
[]-bi e dîm [• • • •	
	• • • •	
[]-bi-za dim e[0 0 0 0	
dub-bi de tuk [
nig-ga uru bul-a [dím	like the goods of a ruined city	
é-e má-gal-gal kar-ri [the temple to the great boats of the	
	quay	
é dEn-lil-lá ge má-gal-gal kar-ri	the temple of Enlil, to the great boats	
ba-an-uš	of the quay is adjoining.	

The tablet had two columns on the oby, and two on the rev.

No. 17. CBS. 14228

Fragment of a religious historical hymn(?). Sippar, Sumer and Akkad are mentioned on the obverse.

REVERSE

uru im-gul-la-aš bád [in the city, the devastating wind, the wall
uru-ki ni-si [the city
numun $zi(d)$ sag-lul-la $du(g)$ [pure seed, head of destruction
šu-bal mi-ni-ib-ag(?) [achieving a complete inimity
lù šu-bi-tak-ki¹ ni-ag [who a perfect adorning
sag ni-sal-sal ² -e [anointing the head

¹ lapâtu, zu'unu.

² sal ... du(g), Gud. Cyl. A, VI; sal ba-ni-ib-e-ne, Gud. Cyl. A, XXII. Perhaps: kunnu, taknitu.

$a-gi(g)-ba^1$ im-a igi-mu-ni- $ib-bir^2$?	At evening he clouds the eyes in dark-
	ness
igi-lul³ ni-ag-[a ruin of the eyes, he causes;
ki-na(d) dúr-gar kalag-ga ù hi-li ne-in-[the bed, the resting place of virility
	and vigor is
uru-ki im-nigi(n) ne-[thecity, the winds all together are
]-ne šu-ne-ne ba-dū-ni ša(g)-mé	their hands, his founding, in the
ni-ag-[battle
[]-mu-túm mé-ki me-šú-tag-ga	brought, in the battle, may the
ha-ba-ab-[leader
[] den-lil-lá-ge he-ne-ib-[of Enlil, may he
[]-lum-bi-šú ha-[
t June 22 cm gar [

No. 18. CBS. 14181

VOTIVE CONE OF ARAD-SIN

The present cone is a duplicate of the cone published by A. T. CLAY in YOS. I, No. 31. It was acquired from dealers in New York, and originates from Uruk (Warka). It has several variants, which prove that the scribes were dealing freely with the text.

1

1 ^dNinni
nin nî-gal gûr-ru
išib šar-ra tab-ba
dumu-gal ^dEn-zu-na
5 nin-a-ni-ir
warad ^{il} Sin
nun še-ga Nibru^{ki}
ú-a urî^{ki} ma
sag-li-tar gir-su^{ki}

To Innina,
the great awe inspiring lady,
interpreter of the twin universe,4
eldest daughter of Sin,
his lady,
Arad-Sin
the favorite prince of Nippur,
providing to the wants of Ur,
care taking of Girsu

¹ LEGRAIN, Le temps des rois d'Ur, p. 42. Cf. tambû, tambatû, and stela of Bašašušinak, 'AK. p. 178 d, 11, 19.

² adâru, Br. 9371. Palâsu, Br. 8499.

³ Sarru, šagaštu.

⁴ Etillit šamê u irsitim. Cf. Lugalzaggisi, OBI. 87, 1, 6: išib-an-na— and ^aNin-šubur, išib :g-ga an-ki (or an-na?); Coll. de Clercq, No. 255.

10 ki lagaš^{ki} a é-babbar-da ní-te(g)-gà lugal arar^{ki} ma lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri dun à-àg-gá ŭr-ŭr¹

15 giš-ḥar šu-dú-dú²
é-dingir-ri-e-ne
šu-gibil ne-in-ag
urudu-alam-gal-gal
mu-pa(d)-da nam-lugal-la-ka-na

20 gal-bi ne-in-lab-ga
uru šub-šub-ba-bi
bád-bi mu-dū-a
ma-da damal-la-na
uku-ne þa-ne-in-dúr-a
25 ní-tuk ša(g)-ka-gál

in the city of Lagaš, worshiping in the temple of Babbar, king of Larsa. king of Sumer and Akkad. the noble collector of oracles who achieved the inclosure: restored the temple of the gods: let enormous copper statues named after his majesty be brought along in great style; restoring the wall of the ruined city; in her large land in order that people might settle down. the terrible overthrower

Π

1 erin šu-a-gi-gi-a me-en. giš-túg-pi damal kin-da-ri dim-me-ne ^dEn-ki-ge ma-an-sum-ma 5 nam-bi-šú ^dNinni nin-má

ka ša(g)-šá(g)³-gi-da-má é ní-tug-na ki-dúr im-dúb-bu⁴ ša(g)-bul-la-ka-ni

10 igi-dǔ-ù-ne ša(g)-bi keš(da)-si(g) diri(g) ud-bi-da-ka é šu-sî(g)-ga-bi⁵ ù-mu-damal

15 ud-ul-šú nam-mu-šú <u>b</u>u-mu-dū

who repels the enemy, am I. Having received from Ea, a wide understanding to accomplish lasting works, in accord with the order of Innina my ladv. and my own prayers, her awe inspiring shrine, dwelling of peaceful rest, where her heart rejoices, a wonder for the eyes, inside I fully adjusted, (and) more than in former days, the surrounding temple I enlarged. For future days,

to my fame I did build.

^{1 &}lt;sup>11</sup>Ištar ... bêltü šurbutu, hamemat paras ^dAnumtu, and: Ninni, nin an-ki ge, ... é me-ŭr-ŭr, ki-dúr ki-ág-gà-ni. Á-ág-gà: taklimtu, têrtu. Rim-Sin (SAK. p. 218, d) é á-ág-gà-kili(b) ŭr-ŭr.

² Mušaklil usurâti. Cf. Cyl. of Sargon, YOS. I, No. 38, Col. II, 6: uštešira uşurâti.

³ Suppu, têmêqu, Br. 719, 720.

⁴ Pašâhu, nîhtu, Br. 8457, 8458.

⁸ Rim-Sin (SAK. p. 218, d): é šu-sí(g)-ga-bi.

sag-bi mu-ni-il
bar-sag-dim bu-mu-sar
nig-ag-ag-da-ne-e-šú
20 dNinni nin-mu
ba-mu-ši-bul
ud-gid-du mu-be-gál-la
aš-le suhuš-gi-na
pa uku gam-gam
25 sag-e ba-ma-ni-in-pa-tug-du

Its head I reared high, like a mountain I did raise. Upon all these doings may Innana, my lady rejoice. Length of days, abundance of years, a throne firmly established, a scepter subduing the people may she as a gift bestow upon me.

The power of Arad-Sin did not extend beyond Nippur, Ur, Lagaš and Larsa. The still-existing kingdom of Isin must be located north of Nippur, next to the more recent kingdom of Babylon.

Innina, the lady of Uruk, the eldest daughter of Sin, had a shrine of her own¹ within the great temple complex of Uruk é-an-na. She is distinct from Na-na-a, another personification of the brilliant starry heaven, queen of Uruk, whose shrine was named:² é hi-li-an-na. Innina and Babbar are daughter and son of the moon god Sin, whereas Nanâ is only daughter of Anu.³ Another daughter of Anu:⁴ dNin-in-si-na emphasizes the character of creatrice of life and mother of the land. She may be identical to Nanâ, but her temple bore the significant name of "temple of the plant of life."⁵ dNin-an-sí-an-na⁶ is another name of Innina, who was worshiped outside of Uruk, in Hallab¹ under the name of Ninni Zababu¹ki, eldest daughter of the moon god.

Whatever may have been the position and importance of Anu, the father of the gods, as founder of the main temple of Uruk: é-an-na, the leading rôle very soon was claimed by Innina

¹ é-nir-gál-an-na, Esarhaddon, YOS. I, No. 41.

² YOS. I, No. 40: bît papah aNanâ.

³ Nin hi-li še-ir-ka an-di; dumu zi-li an-gal-la. Inscriptions of Rim-Sin.

⁴ Nin-gal, ama kalama, zi-gál kalam dím-dím-me; Arad-Sin, stone tablet.

⁵ É-ú-nam-ti(l)-la. Ibid.

⁶ Bur-Sin, stone tablet.

⁷ Inscription of Arad-Sin.

⁸ Brick of Ur-Engur. While Enlil is always: lugal kur-kur-ra: bêl matâti.

or Nana the Ištar of Uruk. From Ur-Engur down to Esarhaddon of Assyria all building inscriptions are concerned with repairs or enlargements of the temple é-anna, of the beloved shrine of Innina. Anu is mentioned in a casual way, as the consort of Nana: bit in Anum ù Antum.

No. 19. CBS. 8255

Provision of barley brought down as salary and transferred to Šamaš "to rejoice his heart." Two men witnessed the transaction that took place on the 11th of Simanu, the 28th year of Samsuiluna, son and successor of Hammurabi.

1 še gur igi 10 gál
ugu Šu-ra?-du-lu

^aBabbar in-tuk
mu-túm á-ka
ša(g) ^aBabbar
ne-îb-du(g)-gi
igi ^{il}Da-mu-e-ri-ba-am
igi ^{il}En-lil-mu-ba-lî-it-ta-ki
itu sîg-a ud 11 kam
mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal
á-ág-gà ^aEn-lil-lá-ta

I gur of barley $+\frac{1}{10}$ of gur property of Šuradulu(?) to Šamaš is transferred, a deposit from salary in which the heart of Šamaš rejoices. witness Damu-eribam witness Enlil-muballitaki month of Simanu, the 11th, year when King Samsuiluna, by the oracle of Enlil.

No. 20. CBS. 14234

Liturgy of the moon god, Sin-Nannar of Ur. Fragment of a large two column tablet. Only part of Rev., Col. 1, is preserved to some extent.

é kiš-šir-gál nam-lugál-la-mu é zi(d) é-ír-e-mu di-ni-tum gar-ra-mu E-kišširgal, temple of my royalty, my temple of life, and lamentation, my place of judgment.

No. 21, CBS. 12700

Historical religious fragment mentioning Libit-ištar, 5th king of Isin.

¹ Inscription of Seleucides, 244 B.C. YOS. I, No. 52.

[]-ni sag-[[] é(?)-ga(?) la-nu [[] unú^{ki} šú šuku dingir-ri [é-kur-ta nam-ti(l) [zi-ša(g)-gál uru-ni [dLi-bi-it-ištar [lugal-mé-šú dúr-kur-[da-da-ra¹ nam-bul-[gir-úr-ra igi-[mé a-nim-dím d-[il-gi-na pi-ki [dag sag-kal² dag-[su-e-ib-úr³ igi-[] sag-sig-ga sag [

to Uruk (?) food offerings of the gods...
from Ekur, for the life
the existence, his city
Libit-ištar
for the king of the battle ...
splendor, joy
sheathed sword ...
like the battle of Anu(?)...
the firm ...,
the chief (mace?) stone, the stone ...
the shield ...
graceful head ...

No. 22. CBS. 14233

Fragment of school tablet. Obverse had only one column "to be copied" on the adjoining blank. It is a literary text. The reverse had a list of square roots preserved at least up to 37 under the common formula:

1 e 1 ib-di; 4 e 2 ib-di; 9 e 3 ib-di, etc.

OBVERSE

dug 4-sag-ga⁴ mu-il [

dŠuruppak⁵ ud ... ta ... [

ddŠuruppak dú(g)-ne ba-ra-il [

ab-ku-tu el-i-um

the vessel on his head he carried [
the god of Šuruppak ...
the temple of the god of Šuruppak, its
commands do not stand ...
to be copied above.

No. 23. CBS. 12735 + 12736

Historical and religious document. Just the names of ^dNin-Sun and of Ur ^dEngur are clear enough in the much-

¹ Ninbutu, Br. 6677.

² Ašaridu, kattillu, Br. 3619, 3620.

³ Kabâbu, Br. 210.

⁴ Dug sag-gà, SAI. 2288; MIO. Tello, No. 892, VII. 25. Dug á-ne-tùm, ibid.

⁶ A title of Marduk, Br. 223, 224.

damaged text. The two fragments belong to a four sided prism, which had two columns on each face (A, B, C . . .). The prism was bored from top to bottom and was probably kept revolving round a horizontal stick or rod, like a seal cylinder. Apparently the document had to be read frequently, and perhaps was a record of a rich endowment.

One year of the reign of King Ur-Engur is dated from the foundation of the temple of Nin-Sun.¹ The goddess is called the mother of Gudea of Lagaš² and later on, of Sin-gašid king of Uruk.³ She is closely associated with dLugal-banda.⁴ Both of them were certainly worshiped in Uruk,⁵ where they probably had their proper shrine in the large temple Ē-an-na. Priests⁰ were attached to the cult of Nin-sun. Fields insured¹ her revenues. A fragment of limestone object⁰ with a square hole cut in the center, has preserved the name of one of her temples: é uru-azag-ga, perhaps in Lagaš.

It is interesting to note that in the present fragment, as in the now complete text⁹ of Libit-ištar, Nin-sun is called the pure lady: nin-zi(d) and nin-sun-zi(d).

Attention has been called by Fr. Thureau-Dangin¹⁰ to the fact that both are synonyms of Ninsun: "the wild cow" (rimtum). A priest was attached to her in that quality: ennin-sun-zi(d). His functions were those of the "ašippu" reading the signs and interpreting the omina, the will of the gods. The shrine itself where the various scenes of the cult were enacted, was called: \acute{e} -gi(g)-par.

¹ SAK. p. 228, c).

² SAK. p. 140, XXIII, 19.

³ SAK. p. 220, a); 222, c).

⁴ SAK. p. 222, c); DE CLERCO, Cat., No. 151, 252: arad ^dLugal-banda ù ^dNin-sun.

⁵ LANGDON, SBP. 154, No. 1; *Drehem*, p. 23, No. 2. Offerings of Ur-Engur to ^dNin-[sun?] CBS. 4560 (PBS. X²). CT. X, 20, Col. II, 14. And SAK. p. 222, c) é kankal é ki-dúr ša(g)-bul-la-ka-ne-ne.

⁶ Ur-bau, sangu ^dNinsun, on a seal, MIO. Tello, 2730. Pa sangu ^dNinsun, RTC. 264, f. II, 1.

⁷ Še a-sa(g) ^dNinsun & igi-il ta, CT. X, 20, Col. II, 14-17. G. Reisner, Tello, 95, Col. VII, 19.

⁸ A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 29.

⁹ Clay cone of Libit-ištar, SAK. p. 205, and A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 27.

¹⁰ SAK. p. 204, k) quoting SBH. No. 56, Rev. 13-18.

Whatever may have been the origin and importance of the ziggurat, the stage tower, of the great temple complex, the gi(g)-par, or \acute{e} gi(g)-par, 1 was the shrine, the house of the god $(\acute{e}; ki$ -d $\acute{u}r; kummi$ elli). It had cedar door $(gi\check{s}$ -g $\acute{a}l, erin, elammaqu)$, and a statue of the god (alam) in cedar wood and bronze, fixed on the precious pavement $(kisal; u\check{s}sum \ lalu)$, in the heart of the temple, the place of oracles (me-ta \acute{e} -e-ge: ina $ter\hat{e}ti$ $b\hat{i}ti$). In the ground underneath was buried the foundation document (temenu). The shrine itself (parakku) was surrounded by several courts and store places $(usur\hat{a}te)$. Priest or priestess had a dormitory adjoining to it (majalum). Food offerings formed a regular income (sattukku). A large endowment included fields, orchards, servants and cattle $(eql\hat{e}, kir\hat{e}ti, astap\hat{i}ri, alp\hat{e}$ ù seni).

The proper function of the priest or priestess (en, nin-dingir-ra; paraș enûti) called for registration and interpretation of all signs and oracles (ina šibir ašiputim). The daughter of Nabonidus was priestess for her lifetime. All titulars of such functions were elected by sort (maš-e pa(d)-da). The kings² dated many years of their reign by such solemn investitures.

Location and name of the proper shrine of the gods is very important, and will throw a welcome light on the origin of Babylonian or Sumero-Akkadian religion. The stage towers and their ponderous mass have too long drawn the main attention. All their names agree on one point; they were: "mountain towers" (é-kur; é barsag), and like mountains, playing their part of support and foundation of heavens (temen-nî-il). But the shrine, where the statue was enthroned, and oracles delivered,

¹ A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 27: text of Libit-ištar; No. 36: text of Anam, king of Uruk; No. 45: text of Nabonidus. On the giparu, cf. CLAY, YOS. I, p. 66.

² Perhaps YOS. I, No. 27 should read: Libit-ištar, king of Isin, desire of the heart of Innina, a giparu, for the priest (en) of nin-sun-zi(d), the priest of Nin-ezen in Ur, the pure seer of dNin-e-ni-ga, the orderer of purification, in the house of vessels, for Arazunišú-gubba (a proper name? "Standing up for his prayer"), his beloved son, the day when justice was established in Sumer and Akkad, in the city of Ur, he built it.

³ Ilâni mašal mâtišu, ina parakkišunu idki ma ... (Mardukapaliddin). Cf. Statue of Marduk, KB. III, p. 140.

was built on the court level next to the tower. Now, which of the two, tower or shrine, was the earliest foundation and place of cult? Which are their racial origin and meaning? This is actually beyond the question. The great towers reached only by degree that enormous mass. We have no evidence that they were at first the tombs of the god. The gods were worshiped as living kings, not as dead beings. Sacrifices were offerings of food and drinks. Sacrifices once over, prayers were addressed to them. On New Year's eve the ruling king held the hand of the god in token of special investiture.

Assuredly the Greek tradition knows the $\tau a\phi os$, or tomb of Bêl. But nothing proves that the word means the stage tower. Most likely it is a translation of another word for shrine: gigunu, which next to giparu calls for some remarks. Both of them are composed with the word gi: reed, and mean a reed construction, a hut, a shrine, perhaps a tomb. Reeds are the natural outgrowth of a marsh land, where they would be used for mats and partitions. The creation story pictures at the beginning of things a time when no reed-mat $(giparu)^1$ had been woven or twisted. Gigunû has been identified with cemetery, tomb, grave, but in the days of Gudea, or Rim-Sin, gigunû is a shrine, a beloved dwelling of the god, built in cedar wood, inside $\S a(g)$ the great temple.

Gigunû means just the great reed house. Unu, or gunu the latter part of the word, is the picture of an older sort of house, AB or EŠ, with slanting sides and conic top, half way between

¹ IV R. 35/36. Giparu between bitâte and agurri in Rec. de Trav. XIX, p. 46, l. 17. Why FR. MARTIN T.R., p. 6, n. 10, makes of it a "temple à étages" is not clear. It is a house, within the great temple complex, where the priest would perform his functions in front of his god: é-an-na, éš gig-par azag-ga; nam-en-na-ba, CBS. 4577 (LANGDON, PBS. X, 2). Gudea (Cyl. A) in temple Baga, or the temple of his mother Gatumdug, first enters the place (ki-na(d). bagin), offers sacrifice and libation (nig giš-ne-šum; a-šé ni-de), then goes to the statue (.ra mu-na-gin), prays (sub mu-na-túm) and his prayer is granted. All statues of gods are "introduced" into the house.

² Statue B, V, 18-20; D. II, 9-10.

⁸ Arad-Sin, VAB. p. 214, e); Rim-Sin, CT. XXI, 32: 91144, Col. II. Cf. RA. VII, 109, 3. POGNON, Bav. p. 56.

SU the leather tent and URU the city. É and É-GAL temple and palace are more comprehensive words. Éš is properly the shrine, the covered house, the beloved dwelling place, where the heart of the god rejoices. There he has his bed $(ki\text{-}nad)^1$ and his throne. His major-domo lù é-du(g) is waiting upon him. His chief adviser (ad-gi-gi) brings in all requests; his high minister (sukkallu) transmits outside his orders. The oldest inscriptions know many of those shrines: éš Girsu;² éš Dug-ru;³ éš gú-túr;⁴ éš é-ninnu.⁵ Proper names recall the function of the priestess: nin-isib éš-ta; nin éš-azag-ga.⁶ Mention of a reed shrine is found in the old inscription of Entemena éš-gi gi-ka-na dNingirsu, which seems much like the giparu shrine, éš gig-par³ of a more recent text.

Gi-ka-na, which may be read: gi-gù-na, is another puzzling term for shrine. In the inscription of Entemena, it is clearly in connection with the reed shrine of Ningirsu. There were others, gi-ka-na, of Nina, Nin-mah, Enki, Nin-harsag. They probably stood up in the midst of a sacred grove.

Assuredly the gigunû was a sacred place, pure like the abzu, 13 the shrine(?) of Enki. To what extent this points toward the grave and the nether world is uncertain. Urukagina inscriptions make clear that there were two ways of burying people: in regular tombs (ki-mab), or to place him $(? \hat{u}-gub)$ on the reeds of Enki, which perhaps means burning him at the stake. In

¹ Gudea, Cyl. B.

² Ur-ninâ, c), II (SAK. p. 4).

⁸ Entemena, a) II, 7. (SAK. p. 30.)

⁴ Ur-Bau, V, 11.

⁵ Gudea, Cyl. A, VIII, 1; XXII, 8.

⁶ G. REISNER, Tellob, 150, 158 pass.

⁷ SAK. p. 32, 36, b) and 1).

⁸ CBS. 4577, LANGDON, PBS. X, 2.

⁹ Entemena, a) r, II, 5.

¹⁰ TSA. LXI; Ruine de Lagaš in Nouv. Fouilles de Tello, p. 47: gi-ka-na ^dNin-maḥ tir-azag-ga-ka-ka. Thureau-Dangin, RA. VI, p. 26, 30, n. 11.

¹¹ HUSSEY, ST. 41, obv. III; RTC. 47, f. IV, 5.

¹² Entemena, a) V, 3-4: gi-ka-na tir-azag-ga: the shrine of the sacred grove.

¹⁸ Gud. Cyl. A, XXIV, 20.

this latter case provisions are made for three sorts of people interested in the funerals. The priestess¹ is one of them (nin-dingir-ri). But we cannot infer that the shrine was the proper burying ground, or owed its origin to such a practice.

No. 24. CBS. 14123

Pre-Sargonic document of comptability. It is dated on the "bal"—year of reign or of some minor charge—of Ka-ni-zi(d).² At the time of Dungi, of Ur, "bal" seems to cover the space of a month.³

galu gan-šam si(g)-si(g)-ga⁴(?) bal Ka-ni-zi(d) which the field surveyor has determined. At the time of Kanizi.

No. 25. CBS. 14014

Fragment of historical inscription. Franchise granted to the city of Ur.

....... ^anusku-ra(?) urî^{ki} šú in-da-túm urî^{ki} ma duššu-ne in-gî [d]un(?)-a-dúr⁶-ne

... for Nusku, was brought along to Ur; In Ur

the badges of slavery⁵ he abolished; the digging

¹ In Gilgameš poem we find Rimat-Bêlit, the mother of Gilgameš acting as a priestess of Nin-sun at Uruk, and interpreting signs and dreams (mudât kalama idi). At sunrise she will pile up incense on charcoal (qutrinna iškun), place offerings on the altar (šurqa iškun), and lift her hands in prayer toward the east (ina maḥar Šamaš ideša išši). Tablet III, Col. I a, 14-16; II a, 8-10. Cf. Le sit šamši de Šilḥak-in-šušinak, Rec. de. Trav. XXXI, p. 41. Gilgameš presents the god Lugal-banda, with the big horn of the heavenly bull (ana piššati ilišu), Tablet VI, 192.

² SAK. p. 224, tablets from Šuruppak, b). ³ LEGRAIN, Le temps des rois d'Ur, p. 7.

⁴ Še-si(g)-ga, Urukagina, h), XII.

⁵ The reed corb carried on the head, the sign of compulsory work.

⁶ Hirû ša irsiti. Nam-umun dun-a, CT. X, 31, Col. VI, 25. Nam-buru dun-a and nam-buru nu-dun-a, Reisner, Tellob, 129, Col. II, 8-26. Buru, Br. 8632: measure bushels of še in the granary (kalakku). Dun ^aBa-ú-ka-me, Hussey, ST. No. 26, r. II. The chief: a-dun-a, ibid. No. 21, r. V. A-dúr-mu, Gudea, Cyl. A. X, 1, 11.

No. 26. CBS. 8358

Historical building inscription. Nin-din-u(g)-ga the Sumerian Istar, in whom both characters of Bau, and Innana¹ are combined, is here called the great diviner $(a \sin u)^2$ of Enlil. But the Sumerian name is more exact and means the one who plants, grows, prepares any magical herbs and knows the crafty receipts of oils, pastes and balsams. She is physician just as much as diviner. She is the lady who revives all dead (muballit mitûti).

Her proper temple, her great temple in Nippur,³ near Enlil, is called é a-mer-azag; the temple of the shining crown. The temple of Ningirsu at Lagaš had a construction of the same name: é-a-mer-bàr-bàr,⁴ which stood up like a mountain of lapis lazuli between heaven and earth. This description would be very fitting for a stage tower. Ē-banda-ka, which means the house of the young ones, is very likely the name of the temple builder. It can hardly be considered as expressing that the great temple, é-a-mer-azag, was towering over the smaller temple of Enlil.

The tablet may have been a record of several votive inscriptions.

OBVERSE

aNin-din-ú(g)-ga
nin-šim-šàr-gal
aEn-lil-là ra
é-a-mer-azag
é-ni gu-la
aEn-lil-là-ka
é-dumu-ka
mu-na-ni-dū
šim-erin gal-gal
[]e nin-ki-íb.

To Nin-dinugga,
the great enchantress
of Enlil,
the temple of the brilliant crown,
her great temple
of Enlil (=Nippur?)
Edumu-ka
has built for her.
Cedar oil in abundance,

¹ THUREAU-DANGIN, Fragt. d'bymne, Nouv. Fouilles de Tello, p. 200. Cf. îr-sem-ma, VR. 52, No. 1, IV, 15. OBI. No. 95, 106, 111.

² Br. 5174.

³ É ^aNin-din-ú(g)-ga ša(g) é ^aNin-lil-lå, LEGRAIN, Le temps des rois d'Ur, No. 293, 339, 371.

⁴ Gud. Cyl. A. XXV, 12-13.

Ur d[lugal

dEn-lil-li

ki-ág [

REVERSE I Ur d.... king of Enlil, beloved place REVERSE II

[]..a-kam sagšù an-gub-ba 7

of such a helmet

brought up 7.

No. 27. CBS. 8424

This must be one of the earliest dated pre-Sargonic documents. The ruin of Maer must be contemporary of the foundation of Upi by Unzi. (Cf. No. 1.)

Obverse !		
[amar-sal-]peš	heifers	
[]-bal-a		
[]- <i>ni</i>		
amar-sal-peš ad-lal	mature heifers	
\dots ^d En-lil	^d Enlil;	
4 amar-sal-peš ad-lal	4 mature heifers	
Bil-sag	Bilsag;	
3 amar-sal-peš ad-lal	3 mature heifers	
Ов	VERSE II	
Ur-pa	Urpa	
é ^d lugal-mes-lam- ^{ki} l	of the temple of ^d Lugal meslam ^{ki} ;	
amar-sal-peš ad-lal	mature heifers	
$Adab^{ki}$ ki - $du(g)$	Adab-kidug;	
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
Obverse II		
[amar-sal-peš ad-lal	mature heifers.	
nam [Nam ;	
	, , , ,	
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		

¹ Temple of Nergal in Kutha, CT. 1X, 3, f. 5, r, 1-4. Cf. É ^dLugal-úru^{kl} at Lagaš.

REVERSE 1

heifers
the chief herdsmen,
have given;
6 red heifers
Idnene
for the hireling
has given,
Namdauru³
butcher . . .

REVERSE II

[] amar-sal dŭ⁴-a gà+nun-mah-ta é(?)-ah-šú(? or ra) ni-ne-sum še-gùr-kud mu Ma-ri^ki hul-a ... fat heifers from the great store, for the butcher shop, they have given month of Šegurkud, year when Maer, was destroyed.

No. 28. CBS. 14193

Fragment of envelope of a case tablet with a seal impression of a patesi of Marad. The city has been identified with Wannet es Sa'dun, west of Nippur on the Euphrates. Its relative importance seems to date back from Narâm-Sin. The temple of its god ^dSar-Marad-da had been founded by him. It was restored by King Nebuchadnezzar II, who searched for and found the *temenu*, the foundation stone of Narâm-Sin. The

^{1 U}Narâti. Cf. Code and Rit-Taf. 27, K. 4245, II, II.

² He-KU, a class of enlisted or hired troops or servants. Erîn-im-nu-il and erîn-he-KU, REISNER, Tellob, No. 3; receive a monthly salary. A scribe keeps a list of their names, CT. X. 45, obv. 5. They live in their own quarters: é-he-ku. REISNER, Tellob, No. 160, VIII, 24. They have a daily grain allowance, MIO. Tello, No. 745, r. 3; or are paid in silver: á he-KU azag-babbar, MIO. Tello, No. 3757. They were attached to many temples and palaces: ^aNin-mar^{ki}; é ^agiš-bar-è; é ^dNinâ; é Nam-ha-ni; Gir-su^{ki}; he-KU kalama-il, gir-si(g)-ga é-gal; he-KU mar-sa-me, etc.

³ Uru: nasâru, Br. 6443: they shall be kept?

⁴ Dubbudu, or ipteru?

⁵ A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, No. 44.

name of the temple was: &-igi-kalama. A son of Narâm-Sin: Libet-ili was patesi of Marad. Some more patesis and priests of Marad are quoted in business documents of the Ur dynasty.¹ The new patesi lived under the rule of Dungi, who is called the divine Dungi. The exact date is probably posterior to the year $35 + \times$ of the same king.

^aDun-gi nita kalag-ga lugal urî^{ki} ma

Li-ša-lum mar Šu-ni-li patesi Marad-da^{ki} warad-zu

No. 29. CBS. 8370

Fragment of historical and religious inscription: praise of Dungi.

OBVERSE

Búr d]

me [] nita(?) šú ...
.... il(?)-bi-da-ta
dingir ub-da-tab-tab kalama sag
aš sí(g)-ga-bi
dDun-gi-ra
giš-pi-túg gú-mu-na-gar-ra-a
dDun-gi
dumu An-na
dkalam-ma-ge
é-il

god of the four regions, his decision is reaching all over the country; to the divine Dungi intelligence was given in a full measure; the divine Dungi son of Anu god of the country has exalted the temple;

REVERSE

šukum-dingir-ri-ne []-gub-ba []-sĭg-ag the food offerings of the gods
..... brought up
..... were gracefully made

¹ Leg. No. 357, 294.

No. 30. CBS. 15066

Fragment of business document. Grain salaries for people concerned with the house of tablets or archives: é-dub-ba. The document is dated on the 18th Simanu, the 2nd year of Gimil-Sin: mu má sìg-abzu. . . .

The variant sig (cf. dar) for dara, shows that the two expressions concern the same animal: the wild mountain goat, later a symbol of the god Ea, on the kudurrus of the Cassite period.¹

No. 31. CBS. 14177

Seal impression of a scribe servant of Kallamu patesi of Asnunna, on a receipt for grain:

Kal-la-mu pa-te-si Aš-nun-na^{ki} ka Lu ^dEn-zu dub-sar Arad-zu.

Several patesis of Ašnunna² are known: like Ituria. Mekubi,³ daughter of Gibillama, patesi of Ašnuna (k), was the wife of Dan-ruhuratir, patesi of Susa.

No. 32. CBS. 8234

Legal document. Nonsuit ordered by the judge. Seven witnesses took the oath in the name of the king.

Ur-dingir-ra šim(?)-gal(?) Lù ^aEnlil-lá ra så in-da-tuk åm sa-bi nu-da-bi-a mu-lugal ni-pa(d) Ur-dingir-ra the great confectioner(?) against Lu Enlil-la: an action was introduced.

The action being ordered nonsuit in the name of the king they were sworn

¹ Le temps des rois d'Ur, p. 17.

² Cf. ^des-nun-na, ibid., p. 112 and p. 45, n. 3.

³ SAK. p. 180.

No. 33. CBS. 8235

Ritual of incantation, probably when they buried the urn full of ashes after they had burnt the body on the reeds of Ea. At the time of Urukagina several provisions were made for the people who took part in the funerals. Three persons were entitled to receive food and drink: the priestess (nin-dingir-ri), the man of the dead $(l\dot{u}-di(m)-ma-ge)$ and some official concerned with the burning (bu-ninni-e). The priestess received only a small ration of food and drink. The lù-dimma had a very moderate part of grain. The big share fell to the bu-ninni-e who took 4 gallons of sesame beer, 240 sesame cakes, and some grain. To which, before the reform, they added I piece of cloth, I bed and I chair. The meaning of those titles or names is not clear. In the present text the priest invokes the 7 utukki, Enlil (?) En-ki, Babbar (?). The funeral urn, the dead, the corpse, the dwelling of the deep abyss are mentioned, and might be a short memorial for the priestess attending the function.

```
An an an an an an an
Utug, utug utug utug utug
utug utug
den den-lil(?)
en den-ki šeš
dbabbar(?) éš .. rî húl
bur-zi¹-tun(?)-sar mu-tug
ūg² utug ūg-ga giš-túg-pi(?)
dīg³-a den-ki ge
é engur-ra-ka
sag im-ma-ni-dú(g)<sup>4</sup>
[ ] pa-bal⁵-la-la⁶
mu-ta-gin.
```

God, god, god, god, god, god, god, Spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit, spirit; Divine lord, divine Enlil, Lord, divine Ea, brother(?) divine Utu, house evil the urn he has obtained; dead spirit of the dead, hearken, the corpse, the water of Ea in the abysmal abode have covered it high. out of the bounds(?) shall not go(?)

¹ Sabbaru, Br. 6977. Burzu, nakpartu.

² RA. VII, 146, n. 1; VIII, 73, n. 1.

³ $L\dot{u}+\dot{s}e=dim$ for $d\bar{s}g$, the corpse, RA. XIII, 44. The skinned body of animals, Le temps des rois d'Ur, No. 277.

⁴ Nakâpu, banû.

⁶ Or, billudû, parakku: jug, tub, shrine. Br. 5649, 5650.

⁶ Negation. Cf. Ištar descent into hell: ana bîti, ețe-e..., etc.

No. 34. CBS. 8381

Pre-Sargonic Sumerian letter. Directions for the management of fields and orchards, probably palm-groves.

ki giš-sar dNin-urta ta ki giš-sar Nig-ga-ra-ni šú ba-ra-bal al-ni-na-ba al-ag¹-a-ba ki giš-sar dNin-urta ta 2 . . giš-ma+gunu²-ḥar³ ba-ra-sir⁵ ki giš-sar Na-ba-ni-túm 6 sĕg-a⁶ giš-gab-tab¹ ib-gid 1 bùr gan ib-urŭ a-ni tar a-ša(g) erîn-na-a e-ne-gub

a-ša(g)-bi 2 bùr-gan še hab-gi-e pa-te-si ge ba-dib

a-ša(g)-bi-ta sĭg-a-ne a-ni-ta keš(da)-šú from the plantation of Ninib to the plantation of Niggarani do not go across, its digging has been done In the plantation of Ninib, 2.. date palm4 tree enclosed(?) do not trim At the plantation of Nabanitum 6 gardeners shall form a squad and cultivate 1 burgan (acre) the ditchers8 engaged in digging the soldier's field(?) their field is of 2 burgan the grain shall be provided for, on the reserves of the patesi: In this field, the gardeners. by the ditchers, shall form a separate unit.

No. 35. CBS. 8241

Incantation by the broken reed, the reed of Apsu. ^dEngur, the divine abyss, is called the mother of Ea, the pure diviner of Ekur.⁹ The text seems to be a part of the liturgy of Ea. The

¹ Rapâku.

² Varieties of giš-ma+gunu: nag-ti, ùr, zi-na(d), M1O. Tello, No. 4644, 4646, 889. Reisner, Tello, No. 121.

^{3 1/4} gan har gis-ma+gunu-gid, CT. X, 49, Obv. 3.

⁴ Fruits in bunches or cakes of 5 to 3 ga each, MIO. Tello, No. 889 (gir-lam). ZA. XV, p. 38-40. Identified with the hašuhu tree, or the pomegranate (SAI. 2772). TSA. XLVIII, n. 9. ⁵ Sanâgu, or šadâdu.

⁶ Amel urgi. Br. 7010. Nu-giš-sar: ikkaru.

⁷ Le temps des rois d'Ur, p. 38, n. 4.

⁸ Cf. dū-a-tar, TSA. XXXIV, gardeners (nu-sar-mc), Hussey, ST. No. 6. Giš-sar a-dū-a, BE. III, No. 84, f. 57.

⁹ Br. 10223.

gi-gam-ma gi dEngur

god is mentioned here like in the flood story, and the same strong alliteration is marked in both texts. Together with stones, statues, the precatory formula bara, they are characteristic of magic incantations.

OBVERSE

Bent reed, reed of Engur,

7 statues indeed, away.

```
šuku šub-ba
                                       Spread offerings, away;
                ba-ra
gi-azag-gi giš-gi azag-ga
                                       Pure reed, clear cane
                  ha-ra
                                                      away;
                                       great cypress,2 great cypress of puri-
li-gal li-gal-la na-ri(g)-ga
                                           fication
na-izi3 si(g)-ga ba-ra
                                       piled up as smoke offering, away;
                                       Balmy cedar, balmy cedar bent,
šim-erin
             ], šim-erin gam-gam-ma
                                       ..... brought out;
ú [
                           ]-ta rá-a
                  ]-an si(g) nam-il
                                       ..... full, shall not rise,
                  |a-si(g)-ne\ ba-ra
                                       ..... filled, away;
                  ki el-li
                                       ..... pure place,
                  a ba-ra
                                       ..... away
                    ' lé ki-el-li šú
                                       .... for the pure place,
lugal
                       ]-hu mu-túm
                                       ..... has brought;
lé dEn.
                            ]-ir(?)
                                       the temple of En.....
                            l ba-ra
                                       ...., away;
               amaš ..
                            àb túr
                                       .... the park .... the yard,
                                  REVERSE
lu \dots ud(?)-sar ur ne-si(g)
                                       the ..... enclosure they spread,
                                       the abode of Apsu ....
éš zu-ab
  dEn-ki-ra
                                         for Ea ....
2-kur-ta nam-[
2-lu
a-ni-li ki-mu ...
7a-bi 2 še(?) ba-ra
                                       the stone ..., away,
ka-li-ne za-li-ne
                                       the ....
gu-ba il-ag dag .. alan
                                        ..... the statues,
                                       Doves, birds of destiny all away;
tu-hu nam-hu gú ba-ra(?)
7 na-me 7 na-me
                                       7 stones they were, 7 stones they were,
```

alan 7 e

ba-ra.

¹ Kikkiš, kikkiš, igar, igar, Gilgameš, Tablet XI, 21.

² Burašu.

² Qutrinnu.

No. 36. CBS. 7874

School text on a lump of clay. Two lines of model text copied by the pupil, read as follows:

dLi-bi-it-ištar à-nun hu-mu-ta-gál Libit ištar.
may he possess a great strength

A good instance of loyal school work at the time of the Isin dynasty.

No. 37. CBS. 14189

School text of the same period.

Nir-gal¹ azag-zu-a² é(?)-šu-dìm³-ma. Šu-nig-gàl-la⁴ Aratta^{5 ki} ka The noble wise one of Ešudimma, The figure of Aratta.

No. 38. CBS. 18188

School text. Fragment of historical legend?

69 (?) sag-ki-ta ... im-diri(g) urudu ba-zi-in al-su-su

... lal pú-bi ne-íb-si-si sag(?)-ki tum-da ág-gà še-ba e-da e

sag-dùl-e id-da bal . . .
si-si-ik⁶ A-ga-de^{ki} šú ni-gí . . .
a-ga-de^{ki} a a-na-ám mu-e ni-ag
gi-gi(g) lul-la⁷ im-ma-an-na-gar
lù búr-ru-bi ne-in-tuk
a-ga-de^{ki} a a-bi [] a-dim

69 from the beginning...heavy clouds, copper axe, does increase.

... gear of the well they piled up the total of gathered products, the gain food ...

the head dam, the river across ...
Sisik has returned to Agade ...
in Agade Anam(?) spent the year,
a he has established.
people take their lances(?)
in Agade ... like a ...

.

.

¹ Etellu.

² Enqu.

³ Sanâqu ša qati, umašu, Br. 7092: Enclosure. É-šu-kár(?)-ma, é uš-bar ^dlama ^dGimil ^USin, MIO. Tello, No. 909, IV, 16–19 (at Girsu). É-šu-kár-dú-dú, Br. 7138 (zigurrat of Ur).

⁴ Mêšrû, Br. 7252.

⁵ Keš and Aratta, Gud. Cyl. A., XXVII, 2.

^{6 4} Mår Šamaš, Br. 3434.

⁷ Cf. di lul-la: dên zarti; ki lul-la: šaggaštu.

No. 39. CBS. 14055

Fragment of the code. Wages of the slave with or without lodgings.

OBVERSE I

[] šú
...ša la ištar sag-sal
gim dumu ga-gâl ištar(?)
azag-ta gub-ba-aš
ib-ta-túm
tukundi
gim gà la-ba-an-dág³
[ud] 1 šú à-ni [šú]
[] še ta [ám]

the servant the suckling baby(?).... for the (price) brought in silver shall take along.
Supposing that a servant is not locked in each day for her salary
[10 qa] of barley..

OBVERSE II

I an []
gà la-ba-an-[dág]
ud I šú á-ni-šú
Io (qa) še-ta-ám
al-ág-e
kù-babbar gur-á-bi
arad á-ni ba-an-tu(r) (?)

is not locked in, each day for his salary, to qa of barley shall be measured, Silver in return⁴(?) for salary the servant will enter on his salary

No. 40. CBS. 14081

Liturgy of Dungi, with reference to some historical year or event.

OBVERSE I

Sìr-ru pi-lul-da^t gal-gal sib-7i(d) Dun-gi-ri Hymn for the great liberation of the pious shepherd, Dungi,

¹ Ištaritu, qadištu, nu-gig?

² Eru, abdu.

³ Naparkû, Br. 5441. No lodging provided for.

⁴ Exchange? duppuru, kanâku, târu, Br. 3361, 3362, 3367.

⁶ Urukagina, b) VII, 26 (SAK. p. 50, c.). Opposed to ama-gi.

[]-ga-šú	the [valiant]
mu gá-(?) ar-gà-ar	the year when the establishment1
Nibruki a	in Nippur
^d gal-gal-e-ne	the great gods
a-ru	were(?) granted;
mu a-tú-a-tú-ù-ge(?)	the year when the purification ²
uru-ki a	in the city,
$nam-\check{s}u(?)$ $g\acute{u}(?)$ $\check{s}u(?)$ mu e .	•••••

OBVERSE II

gur(?) [
giš-bu³-[offspring
šu-nir ⁴ a-[tú	emblem, purified(?)
ù-im-gà? [*****
ur-sag dEn-lil [the hero of Enlil,
dnin-[urta(?)	Nin-ib(?)
du(g)-ga-a mu [to the order
Pa-giš-gibil-sag [Pasag,
da -rí $[\dot{u}(?)]$	for ever(?)
giš-ù ⁵ ga-la-ga [cedar
si-im [
	Drypper II

REVERSE II

[]-gar-ra-âm being made.

No. 41. CBS. 14214

Hymn to dNin-a-zu, the father of dNin-giš-zi(d)-da,6 the grand-father of Dumuzi-Tammuz. Like them probably a god of vegetation, reigning in Hades. Two months in the Drehem calendar borrowed their names from his legend: the 4th and 5th: "the couch (ki-sìg),7 and feast (ezen)" of Nin-a-zu. They pre-

¹ Purification? Tebibtu, sukunnu, Br. 12185, 12186.

² Risnu, Br. 11571.

³ Pirhu, Br. 7531.

⁴ Šurinnu, Br. 7198.

⁵ Ašûbu.

⁶ Gudea, St. I. (Cf. B. VI, p. 258, l. 29.).

⁷ Le temps des rois d'Ur, p. 14, n. 4.

cede the month of Akiti, which marked the return of spring. Nippur calendar does not record the name of Nin-azu, but names the 6th month: "the return of Ištar(kin ^d Innanna)," instead of which people in Lagaš had a: "feast of Tammuz¹ [ezen (azag) ^dDumuzi]." This name only prevailed in Babylonian and Assyrian time. The month of Tammuz was the month of seed sowing (šu-numun-a). Harvest came (še-gur-kud) 7 months later.

At the time of Urukagina, Nin-a-zu had his share among other gods, in the rich offerings (ha-la)² at Lagaš. His cult declined by degrees, and made room for the cult of his son dNin-giš-zi(d)-da at the time of Gudea, and chiefly his famous grand-son Tammuz. Ninazu is figured here as begotten from Nannar in Ekišširgal at Ur.

OBVERSE

Lugal gal³-utul [] me-en	King protector of herds.	. thou art,
^d Nin-a-zu gal-utul [] me-en	Ninazu protector of herds.	thou art,
en ^d Nin-a-zu-mu ut[ul] me-en	My lord Ninazu, herds	thou art,
gi-iš(?)4 za-gin-na ma	[šu si]	Reed of lapis lazuli	. thou art,
	me-en		
lu(?)[. $n]i$	ип-па-та-па		thou art,
	biame-en		
ki-sag-bi du-ul šul	en ^d Nin-a-zu	the place where	lord Ninazu,
	me-en	thou art,	
[d] Nin-a-zu ki-in-	gub ⁵ þa-ma	may Ninazu	the grave(?)
$dNanna(r) \dots e$	\dots $ri(?)$ -gub	Nannar	
gal šu-gal ⁶ -la(?) ^d N	Vanna(r) $[tu(d)]$	Protector of begot	tten(?) from
] me-en	Nannar thou art	,

¹ In Umma, the 12th month was dedicated to ^dDumu-zi.

² Hussey, S.T. No. 41. This curious list includes: ^dNinni îb-gal, ki-a-nag, ^dNinâ, ^dEn-ki gi-ka-na, ^dNin-gir-su nin-ni-gar-ra, ^dNin-dar, ^dDumu-zi-abzu, ^dPa-sag, ^dAb-ir-nun, ^dHe-tūr, ^dNin-ūr, ^dNin-dub, ^dEzin-nu, ^dDun-(REC. 230)-ab, ^dNin-šubur, ^dNin-a-zu, ^dMes-an-du, Ib-ḥa-nu-kú, ^dGà-tum-du(g), ^dInnana, ^dLugal-ūru^{kt}, Ki-a-nag.

Nin-a-zu is called: "the Sumerian" DP. No. 49, 51 (TSA. LV).

³ Cf. dakan, sug. II: takkannu, sukku, Del. Glossar.

⁴ Gi-unú; gi-šid(?).

⁶ Ki-gub: qibîru, Br. 9723; ki-in-gi: mâtu, Br. 9678; ki-in-dar: nigissu, Br. 9682.

⁶ Pabâru, Br. 7203.

pa an ma arad babbar-ri-id	Scepter
giš-gu-za an-ni ba(?)-ra zag-an-ki-šú-gir si-be-da-ab-di ud-ba- si(g) mu ud-ba si-ba-ra(?) ab-di ud-ba si(g) nam zu šu im-mi-dú [] kur-kur-ra pa-è ùg-gà im- mi-gub dKal-zu(?) é-kiš-sir-gál-la á-gal ba-ra me-en	Heavenly throne Sanctuary, place of, may stand firm, the storm the storm, may stand firm, the storm thy is achieved, shine on the countries, stand on the people God warrior thou, in Egišširgal ¹ a great force for destruction, thou
dNin-a-zu uri ^{ki} -ma tu(d)-da ^d Nanna(r) be-e-da-šuš en ^d Nin-a-zu-mu uri ^{ki} ma tu(d)-da ^d Nanna(r) be-e-šuš	art Nina-zu in Ur begotten from Nannar, may he be spread out My lord Ninazu, in Ur begotten from Nanna(r) mayest thou spread out.
a-a mi gam(?) gal dEn-lil-li mu-zu pa-ne-in-mă(?)² ama? ugu-zu ù ra nam mu-ra	father great of Enlil, thy name is glorified, mother on thee
é-zu uru(?)-zu kur(?) ta-ki bu(?)-mu un	mayest thou be
Rev	ERSE
Im ki-uru ⁸ ki sud-al [hu-mu-un [En ^d Nin-a-zu-mu ud-ba bi-hu-[Wind of the city mayest thou be My lord Ninazu, the storm, mayest thou
ki-gal(?)bi hu-mu-un-gà-ri(?) mer-azag-gi sag-za ba-ra-ni-in-gi	the grave mayest thou may the gold crown on thy head, never change place.
šu-ni dìm ⁴ ba-ra-ni-in	may thy hand the scepter(?) never let
giš(?) gál a-a ugu-na ša(g) azag mu-un	the father on clear inside

¹ Ziggurat of Nannar, at Ur.

² Du(g), Al?? Cf. pa-è.

³ Dakkannu, Br. 9657.

⁴ Tarba, surba, sanagu, Br. 1166-1188. The rod, emblem of power. Cf. pa: battu.

igi sag-gà mu in-bar	on his head
$[\ldots du(g) mu[ni-]in-kur \ldots$	good, shall change
[of the countries, thy people
he-il(?)	may
[en dnin]-a-zu-mu pi-ne-zu he-è	My lord Ninazu, may thy ears ex-
	tend
me-ne-zu be-è	may thy orders, come out
[]zu ki-el sal-šá(g)-ni	Thy, the servant his grace
[] nin-bar-nin-anšu(?)-gal [
é-zu uru-zu bu-mu-ra-ab-bi	Thy temple, thy city, mayest thou
	command unto them
x^1 -šú $ga(?)$ -ra-da-túm	May I bring thee my prayer.
]-zu en ^d Nin-a-zu-mu	Thy my lord Ninazu.
[mu?]-bal²-e ^d Nin-a-zu-kam	Litany(?) of Ninazu

No. 42. CBS. 9857

Sumerian building (votive) inscription, with several records of Dungi. The tablet was written at the time of the Isin dynasty.

OBVERSE

zi³ a-màš⁴ gar ša(g) a-ka⁵ ni-dŭ6 na-i	Fence(?) forming enclosure round
im-tab	demolitions(?) the keeper(?) of raised stones, has added.
éš é-þar-sag-šú Dun-gi-ra mu-na-ni-in-	In the house of Eharsag, for Dungi, he
$t\hat{u}(r)$ - $t\hat{u}(r)$	has introduced.
ud-bi-a giš-e é-gal-la tu(d)-tu(d)-da-	The day when, the wood, in the palace
$ni \dots$	where he was born,
zi giš-ra ù-ga-an-na-ab	the fence to throw down, indeed I ordered to
giš-e zi-ir ki-im-mi-ib-lal ba-ra ni-ku?	the wood for the fence was exactly
$mu \ldots \check{s}\acute{a}(g)$ -ga?	weighed, without any
am-dim si ur-a ba-ni-ib	like a wild bull, horns together
gu(d)-dîm ur-bi-ta im	like a bull, together

¹ REC. 316, sign of prayer. Cf. No. 5.

² Sag-bal-e: sarru, Br. 3538. Gud. Cyl. A, XIX, 16.

⁸ Abazu, sanaqu. Cf. CT. X, 10, Ob. I, 4. CT. VII, 2, Col. II, 9. Gud. Cyl. A, XII, 12.

⁴ A-maš dū-a, Gud. Cyl. B, XV, 5.

⁸ Šagāšu, Br. 8080.

⁸ Mušêlû, pitû.

udu munšub-ba(? or pi?) im-bi-a	a hairy sheep
ur-mab(?)	a lion
ud-bi e zi-ir gù-mu-na-de-e	the day when for the fence, was claimed,
zi lù na-ba-bu(?) nu-a	the fence, the
pa	
ba-bád-da	had been raised,
bar-si(g)-aš-ta-è-a ba-ta-ne-in- uš-sa	issuing from the covert, reaching outside
gi rim gi-urû-da nu-gub-bu	the fence(?) reed of protection
	not standing up,
gi gi-šu-ha-ne ha-e pad¹-pad-du	the fence(?) reeds the fishers, offer
mu s e igi-šú	the fishes on, for 1 year before,
$gi \dots gub-ba ga-mu-ra-ab-du(g)$	the fence(?) standing, I will order
	for thee,
urudu nig-kalag-ga² sag-gà mu-um-	hard bronze at the head shall
ma- da - ab - $ri(g)$	be placed,
giš-erin giš za-ba-lum, ³ [giš-šur-]	cedar-wood, zabalum cypress-
man, giš-ku ⁴	wood, box-wood
giš-dan giš-dup-ti-a š $u(?)$ ba^7 -	ušu ⁵ -wood, pine ⁶ (?)-wood,
ba lum	
giš-a-am, giš dim-du(g)-ta he-im-ma-	ildaggu8-wood, from good plant,9 shall
da-ab-túm	be brought
sag-gà-ka he-ne-suh-suh ¹⁰	of its head, shall be made splendid
ud-dé be-ne-ba-dím (?)	shall be made like day.
sig-gi gab nig-tuk ¹¹ -ki-na-ta	underneath in front of his form,
giš-eme sar-šú-in-gub-ta he-im-ta-gub	on pegs put for fastening, he shall stand,

¹ Kusapî.

² Êrû dannu, Br. 12088, 12089.

³ Gudea, St. B, V, 55; Cyl. A, XV, 30. Mounts of Zabalum. Together with giš-ù-ku, giš tu-lu-bu-um. Za-ba-lam: supalu, CT. XVII, 38, l. 39. Meissner, MVAG. 1904, No. 3, p. 34, anm. 2. (SAK. p. 70, a); along with: ašuhu and plane-tree.

⁴ Urkarınu.

⁵ Ebony-wood, terebinthe?

⁶ Cf. Duprânu, burâšu, buțnu. Ina eli tupat burâši.

⁷ Hasuru?

⁸ Or Adâru, Br. 11486, 11487.

⁹ Of good growth.

¹⁰ Zîmu, or nasâhu?

¹¹ Mêšrû, Br. 12177.

úh (?) pu-uh¹ súh-a zikum-ma dú(g)- $dú(g) \ am-dím \ he-im-mi-šù$

urŭ-bi buzru+sar(?)-ba he-im-tagu(d)-ud the beast disturbing the deep well, muttering in the abyss, like a bull he shall cover,

its foundation, out of the secret abyss shall be reared.

REVERSE

giš-al-e sa-he-ne-si(g) giš dusu zag hemi-lal-lal

Dun-gi-ri gá-šu(?) ḫu-mu-na-dū gà-nun ḫu-mu-na-gub

giš-gu-7a edin?-te(g)-é-a dú(g)-ga-e bu-mu-na-ni-gub.

gú-ne-sag-gá² hul é-a

din-làl gu-e be-im-ma-gub

ma(?)-za-lum³ e suḫur⁴ ḫe-im-mašù-šù

bád-ne ha-ba-giš-giš⁵-šú lagab(?) humu-un-na-si(g)-si(g)

giš-pú⁷ har-ra(?) na hu-mu-unna-mă-mă

giš-má . . . ka-ni šu(?) dím(?) subur bu-mu-na-dū-dū

 $\S \hat{u}$ -dim $\S \hat{a}(g)$ ga mu-nigin

sal-sîl tur ... sìg-am be-im-mi-îb-è

Dun-gi hu-mu-un-sî(g)-sî(g) giš-gi bar-rim⁸-ma si(g)-ga-za Spade shall spread net-like, corb shall reach the limit.

For Dungi the abode ... I will build, the great store I will rear,

the throne foundation of the plain, placed in the temple, I will rear there to him

the protection(?) against evil in the temple

pot of date wine and honey, I will set up.

the, shall have the covering spread upon

the walls(?) shall face(?) one another, the enclosure I will complete⁶

the well, dug-out ... I will rear up for him,

the boat I will build him a cover,

the ... with date-palm(?) I shall surround.

Young ewes, young I will let go out.

Dungi shall have them plentiful a wall full of ... art thou,

¹ Temen(?).

² Kadâdu, kanâšu?

³ Cf. ma-ša-lum, RTC. 304: a bronze object.

⁴ Kimmatu.

⁵ Or nigin? Cf. giš-giš: šapiltu ša qibili: answer, reply.

⁸ Malû, lamû, šapâku.

⁷ Giš-pu, RA. IV, 24, text III; RTC. 197, f. 8; Gud. Cyl. B, XVI, 9.

⁸ Or maškim?

giš-dim-gal-gal1 dū-a-bi he-me-en a great pillar(?) its construction shall be, its strong ... shall be, kalag . . . bi he-me-en di-ba(?)-an-ze-ir2 lù-kal-la-nu-zu3 a strong foundation, a vigorous youth. ki-gir-du4 na-gú-rú-rú-a5 a foot resting place, a raised up stela gi giš-gu-za subuš giš-zi(d)-da Má-ríki the whole throne, a foundation of straight wood from Maer, shall be be-ba-e-dū-dū built. giš-me-en igi-tab-ba he-me-ni-tù(r)-ri wood(?)6 art thou, fixing thy looks in me-en front of thee art thou. sag-zu sag-mu-ta he-im-ta-gar Thy face, from my face, shall thou not turn away.

No. 43. CBS. 9239

Sumerian building inscription, with records of a gold statue, of Enlil (?), of Naram-Sin and perhaps the city of Hamazi.

OBVERSE

	OBVERSE		
11:	alan sag-azag-gi dEn(?)-lil-li [é]-kurta nam(?)- ta-an-è	the statue with the golden head, Enlil from ékur shall not go out	
24:	ká-gal dEn-lil-lå ka ga-im-ma-ba-ĕ	By the gate of Enlil I will get out	
Reverse			
9:	uru Ha-ma-[zi lù ^d Nun-[^{il} Na-ra-am ^{il} Sin šag giš-erin giš šu-ùr-man giš za-ba- lum giš-ku	the city of Hamazi(?) Lu-Ea Naram-Sin cedar-wood, cypress-wood, zabalum, box-wood,	

¹ Markasu, dimgallu.

² Halaşu, Br. 4205.

³ Not knowing this srength; badûlu, Br. 6215.

⁴ Нигарри, Вт. 9208.

⁵ Cf. na-ru-a and sêru, Br. 3273.

⁸ Zikaru, idlu?

giš-gi giš-dan-na ... zi(?)-gum cane, ušu wood, ... were cut to ba-an-sur-sur pieces ... guškin-bi mi-ni ne-in-ag its gold were made guškin-bi su-ú-ba1 ne-in-ag its gold was melted, urudu[-bi .. mab ... kár-ra its copper ... ne-in . . . arag-bi dím-e its silver ... an(?)-bi. za-ma.. dím-e

No. 44. CBS. 15207

Liturgy of the god Pa-gibilsag, with reference to Enlil, Ninlil(?), Nippur and Isin. Pagibil-sag was later identified with Išum a god of fire and pestilence, an intendant of Nergal, the great leader and high commissary of the gods. In the days of old he was called the leader of the land (nimgir kalam-ma).² Eannatum was a diviner³ of the same god. Priests (sangu)⁴ of Pasag are named along with priests of Ninsun and Nindar. His temple in Lagaš⁵ was ranking next to the temple of Ningirsu, é šabru, é bagá and é bàrbàr. Fields and flocks were attached to it, and were attended to by a regular board⁶ or staff. His present temple is in Larak.⁷

COLUMN I

am ùr-ra-ám dar-a é-a-ni ka-ni
like the crouching bull the chequered
one of his temple,
my king is like the crouching bull the
chequered one of his temple..

dPa-gibil-sag am-ùr-ra-ám dar-a é-a-ni [Pa-gibil-sag is like, etc.

¹ Su-ub: mašášu, Br. 203. Cf. kemaššu.

² Gud. St. B, VIII, 63-64.

⁸ Iskim, SAK. p. 22, stone B, II, 13.

⁴ RTC, 264.

⁶ É ^dpa-giš-bi(l)-sag, REISNER, Tellob, No. 26, XI, 9, XIV, 20.

⁶ É d pa-sag had 1 ukuuš sangu, 2 nuban(da)-gu(d), 1 šes tabba, 4 engar, 12 gu(d)-da-ri-a, 1 pa erin-na maškim, ă erin, 4 ù-il, M1O. Tello, No. 865.

^{7 d}[]-ne-sag, umun Larak, St. Langdon, 5th tab., r. 12 in SBP. p. 160, n. 4, 7. E aš-te, ê-aš-tu, temple of Larak, ibid., p. 133, n. 4; p. 265. Bît-sâla-laraki, Sanh. V, 35 (Del. Paradise, p. 202, 5; p. 224). According to Berosos, Xisuthros was born in Λαραγχα.

&-a-ni é-la-ra-ag-ka-ni-am é-a-ni uru-ni uru Á gál-la é-a-ni-ka [ur-sag é-a-ni é la-ra-ag [en dPa-gibil-sag é la-ra-ag [... ki [-tu(d)-da-ni éš [ki-[]-zi(d) kú-a-ni é [ki ki-el a-ga(?) ma-ma-[ni-si-in-na é-sag. $ki gu(d)-e gú \dots a-ni gu(d) ur-ùr$ nimgir-dim gir-gir-ta zi(g)-ga-ni nimgir-im-gál-la-a ur-bar-dim kas-ligir-ta zi(g)-ga ni ùr-ra-e ag-da úg-dím¹ ka-sig-ta zi(g)-ga-ni a sar(?) ud-dim ša(g)-túm-ma² nam-dun muun-ag-e en ud-ša(g)-tum-ma nam-dun mu-unen dPa-gibil-sag é-ša(g)-tum-ma namdun mu-un-ag-e ša(g)-tûm ša(g)-tûm ni-si-inki na-ge lugal-mu nam-dun mu-un-ag-e ud-ba lugal-mu nibruki šú na-gin ur-sag dPa-gibil-sag ki dEn-lil-lá šú gin-a-ni gin-a-ni é-bi ni-si-inki na an-ta ud-ba nin-mu ni-si-inki na sa-ga ba-ni-in ...

His temple, his temple of Larak is it his temple ...

His city, the city A ... galla of his temple
the valiant, his temple, his temple of Larak ...

the lord Pagibilsag, his temple of Larak ...

the place ... of his birth, the house ...

the place of his ... pure food, the temple ...

the pure place ...

Nisin the temple..

the place where the bull ...

like a leader, his getting along the roads, a leader of the winds(?) like a leopard, his going on expedition, acting along the foundation, like a wild beast with hanging head, his driving like the sun at midday, he exercises sovereignty lord sun of midday, he exercises sovereignty lord Pagibilsag, in the temple of midday, he exercises sovereignty, midday, midday of Nisin, my king, ruling supreme, when my king goes to Nippur, the valiant Pagibilsag, in his going to the abode of Enlil in his going, the temple of Nisin, in heaven and earth, he when my lady in Nisin, on high ...

¹ Úg-dim, like the day, Gud. Cyl. B, IX, 21.

³ Qirbitu, Br. 8032.

No. 45. CBS. 2268 + 2277

Sumerian historical records. Enlil, É-an-na, the land of Sumer and Akkad, the river of Kutha and Sippar, the Gutium enemies, the valiant hero of Sumer; perhaps the mention of a king may still be read in the much-damaged text.

No. 46. CBS. 7848

Fragment of a historical prism. Seems to refer to letter or order $(\dot{u}$ -na-d $\dot{u}(g)$) of King Libit-ištar of Isin, and some expedition (kas-ligir ta im-g \dot{i}). The 1st and 2nd li-mu-um are hardly identical with Assyrian eponymates, but they seem to have some connection with periods of time (bal).

No. 47. CBS. 7820 + 7830

Fragment of a historical prism. Perhaps a record of the building activity of King Naram-Sin, $\delta a(g)$ -ga Nibru ki . . . , lù da . . . , mu ϵ -kur-ra

No. 48. CBS. 7849

Fragment of an octagonal prism. The text, among several historical records preserved a version of the building and rebuilding of the Tummal of Ninlil.² The shrine of the goddess at Nippur was founded in the early days of ^dGiš-bil-ga-mes. The Drehem³ tablets give details of food, scented or precious woods, sacrifice animals sent as offerings to Tummal. Ubâ patesi of Adamdun had a bow placed in it as a votive offering.

¹ Cf. túg-lum-za.

² A. Poebel, PBS. V, No. 6, 7; IV, 1 p. 143-147.

² Le temps des rois d'Ur, No. 4, 303, 306, 384.

Among interesting items in lists of account of Ahuni in Tummal, we note a bronze bed with a mattress of good wool for Alla-sarrum the nurse of Me-kadi the king's daughter. The shrine was the proper asylum of young princesses.

COLUMN II

¹ Dub¹-ki-ág ^dnanna(r) dumu Na-an-ni ge Tùm-má-al^{ki} si pa-ne-da-è

dNin-lil Tùm-má-alki šú in-túm³
a-du 4 kam Tùm-má-alki ba-šub

Ur [dEngur-ge é-kur] in-dū
Dun-[gi dumu Ur dEngur]-ge
Tùm-má-alki si pa-ne-da-è
dNin-lil [Tùm-má]-alki šú in-túm
[a-du 5]kam Tùm-má-alki ba-šub.
[... dI-bí] dSin ka-ta
[en-na dI-]bí dSin lugal-e
[en-am]-gal-an-na en-dNinni
[unú]ki ga máš-e in-pa(d)-dé

[dNin-]lil Tùm-má-al^{ki} šú []-gin-ne-en [dIš-bi]-ìr-ra é-kur-igi-gál [é-gi-na-]ab-dú⁵ [dEn-lil-lá] in-[dū] Dubkiag-Nannar son of Nanni, let shine the horn² (exalted) of Tummal Ninlil into Tummal was brought up,

A fourth time Tummal was ruined. Ur-Engur built the temple ékur, Dungi son of Ur-Engur, let shine the horn of Tummal, Nin-lil into Tummal was brought up. A fifth time Tummal was ruined. By... of Ibi-Sin, when King Ibi-Sin.

was elected by oracles as priest of the temple: "the great heavenly bull," priest of Innana at Uruk Ninlil into Tummal, they brought up.

Išbi-irra built: Ekur-igi-gal

of Enlil

the šutummu

COLUMN III

pa-te-si sag-il [... $\acute{e}(?)$ ^dEn-lil-l \acute{a} ... $\acute{p}\grave{a}$ a-dan(?) $\acute{p}a$... ib-tum

the patesi raising the head the temple of Enlil ... the canal, the flood .. has carried(?)

.

Or 3id?

² Si-ba-mul-mul, Gud. Cyl. A, XXIV, 22. ³ Or gin: entered. Cf. l. 16: gin-ne-en.

⁴ The 2nd year of Ibi-Sin.

⁵ Same "granary" built in Ur by Enannatum son of Išme-Dagan, SAK. p. 206, b). Great store for furniture: 37 giš gu-7a . . ša(g) É-gi-na-tùm, REISNER, Tellob, No. 83, Vs. 9, 11.

```
1 dEn-lil-dingir-mu ù Ha-an-za-mu
                                       Enlil-dingirmu and Hanzamu,
  mu-sīg-gi-eš mu-da-kar-ri-eš
                                       have stamped, have banked up,
Lugal-an-ni(?) na-ab-bi-a
                                       Lugal ....
                                                      ordering
    mà-e pà I ám
                                          I canal for me
    za-e pà I ám
                                          I canal for thee
    pa-te-si pà 1 ám
                                          I canal for the patesi
  a be-mu-e ka-ne-in-du(g)-ta
                                       on the word they have said: the water
                                            be mine
    nu-mu-un-dim1-gi-es
                                       there shall be no restriction
  erin id-zu-nu-ma pà-gub [
                                       the workmen of their (?) river, the
                                            canal ....
 mà-e ha-a-bi-a-ma [
                                       as for me, I will order . .
  á ma-tur 5 -ú [
                                       a strength of 5 small ...
    bu-mu-ši-in [
                                         may I ...
  a-ma-ru
                                       the storm ....
  Lugal-išib ù-na [
                                       Lugal išib (?) has ...
  pa-te-si [ra (?)
                                       to (?) the patesi ...
```

No. 49. CBS. 13967

Praise of King Libit-ištar. Fragment of a three(?) column tablet.

COLUMN I

dLi-bi-it-ištar lugal King Libit-ištar sag-il nun bara-ga the exalted prince of all shrines, he-dú giš-isimu2 ornament of the stem nam-lugal-la of royalty, like Šamaš thou goest dUtu-dim-gin še-ir-zi3 kalam-ma splendor of the land, nam-nun dúr-mah4 nobility of great houses -gal-la ... da] ki gar-ra [

COLUMN II

en-dun [noble lord ...
an ni-ki [.....

¹ Or du(g)? Dim: sanâgu.

² Zigpu, Br. 8968.

³ Šarūru.

⁴ Šarru, durmahu, Br. 10576-7.

iti¹-ti [help
ama-an [mother
dLi [Li[bit-ištar.

COLUMN III

ne-[
diri(g) [more
dLi-[bi-it ištar	Libit ištar
dumu dEn-[son of En
nig-gi-na [justice
inim-inim-mi-ni	his words

No. 50. CBS. 14176

Fragment of Sumerian literary text of dubious meaning. The superintendent (maškim) and the priest of lamentations (gala), are mentioned together with statues (alan), temple (\acute{e}) , walls $(b\acute{a}d)$, boats for grain $(m\acute{a}-\check{s}e)$. The whole seems to be a record of rules and regulations.

No. 51. CBS. 8242

Fragment of historical inscription(?). List of gods, part of an official litany:

[] ^d Nusku [me-en]	Nusku art thou,
[] dnu-túg-nir-ra	me-[en]	Nutugnirra art thou,
[] nibru ^{ki}	me-[en]	of Nippur art thou,
[] sig é-kur-ka	me-[en]	bricks of Ekur art thou,
[] urî ^{ki} ma	me-[en]	in Ur art thou,
[] dEn-lil-li	[]	Enlil,
[] $e šú mu-su(d)$. []	for has removed afar,
[] kalam(?) sá-a	me[en]	ruling the land art thou,
[] dEn-lil-da]]	along with Enlil,
[] En-lil-lá	me[en]	of Enlil art thou.

Nu-túg-nirra: "the prince invested with splendor" or "the prince of the shining weapon" is probably an epithet of Nin-uras.

¹ Gibtu, tukultu; Br. 9433-4.

CBC. 4563¹ has a ^dNu-nam-nir. Nam-nir-ra means: nobility (etellutu), giš-túg-nir: the great weapon (kakku). The god simply called ^dNu-nir, is no other than Ninuraš ša miḥri,² the god of fight and storm. The element túg may be dispensed with as we learn from the name of ^dNu-muš-da³ or ^dNu-túg-muš-da,⁴ the god of Kazallu,⁵ a serpent god⁶(?).

No. 52. CBS. 14190

A contract for partnership (tab-ba), dated on the month of Tašritu, on the 18th year that followed the capture of Isin by Rim-Sin:

il [Il . . .ki U-baril [Šamaš]with Ubar-Šamaš,nig-gathe propertya-na-me-a[ri (?)]all he has . .tab-bashall be in partnership.

The round circle or mark on the tablet may be a substitute of the seal.⁷

No. 53. CBS. 14184

A lease for land on the 5th year after the capture of Isin.

Gan!ilSin-ta-a-a-ar
I-li-a-pi-li-im
nam-bi-an-ma8 šu-ub-ta-an-è
Ka-šer mu 1 kam
igi 4 gál 5 še kù babbar
ša(g)-ga ne-ib-du(g)-ga
en-na-an-šú
gan-bi ni-gà
apin-bi ni-gà

The field of Sin-tajar, Iliawilim, under year term, holds it by lease. The rent for 1 year shall be ¼ shekel+5 grains of silver, being satisfied at heart. Up to that day, he shall cultivate the field and irrigate it.

¹ PBS. X, 2, No. 9.

² Br. 1997.

³ CBS. 4577 (LANGDON, PBS. X, 2.).

⁴ OBI. 125, obv. 8.

⁶ Cf. No. 3: Baša-^dNu-muš-da, patesi of Kazallu.

⁶ Siru. Serpent god on seal cylinders: DE CLERCO, Cat. No. 141.

⁷ Cf. A. T. CLAY: Seals and Their Substitutes, BE. XIV. pp. 12-13: sisiktu.

⁸ Sattu, Br. 2186. Cf. Mu-an-na.

No. 54. CBS. 14178

Receipt for 4 shekels of silver borrowed for six months at a rate of 20 per 100 interest. The document is dated on October, and the money shall be repaid on May of the following year. Four witnesses and two seal impressions. The seals may have belonged to Sinnutum and Burmama, the two parties to the contract. One is drawn in full and shows the fight of Gilgames with bulls, lions and a devouring dragon. Small figures of a crouching lion, turtle, fly, human head, etc., fill the vacant space. A short inscription devotes it to Samaš. The next seal pressed on the edge of the tablet shows a figure of the god Martu, with short garment, turban and mace.

The date formula commemorates the occupation of Dur Damiq-ilišu by Rim-Sin. The overthrow of Isin is a much controverted question.¹ The longer formula as published by Thureau-Dangin² says that Rim-Sin captured :"the city of Damiq-ilišu and the people of Isin." More than 30 years of Rim-Sin's reign were dated from that event.

4 gin kù-babbar máš 10 gìn 2 gìn ta-ám dab-bi-dam ki il Sin-nu-tùm ta 1 Bûril Ma-ma šu-ba-an-ti Iti sìg-a ka sum-mu-dam igi il Šamaš dEn-lil-lá igi Im-gu-tùm igi ilSin-ma-eir igi Ilu-ma-an-sum Iti giš-apin-gab-e mu ilRi-im ilSin lugal-e Bád il Da-mi-ig-í-lì-[šu] mu-un-da-dúr

4 shekels of silver. Interest for every 10 shekels, 2 shekels shall be added. From Sinnutum, Bur-Mama. has received it. On the month of Simanu It shall be paid. Witness: Šamaš-Enlilla. Imgutum, Sinmagir. Ilumansum. Month of Warah-samna, Year in which King Rim-Sin occupied the city of Damiq-ilišu.

¹ Full study by A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, pp. 35-40.

² RA. VIII, 81.

No. 55. CBS. 7196

Semitic letter, or record of accounts at the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. Delivery of goods: garment, silver, wool, sheep, grain from and to Larsa, Nippur, Al-Ili-idinnam as salary to an employee, by the hands of responsible agents (gir). A receipt was required.

1 šialu kasti silver shekel I-nu[-um-ma iš-tu] Larsamki ma il-li-ku when he left Larsa gir1 [1-bu-nim agent: ... bunim ı garment Nin d... I subatu [] Nin d[subatu gir [U-bar] dLu-lu2 ı garment, agent: Ubar-Lulu. I subatu Šarru [bi-ni i-na ı garment, Šarru ... bi-ni, in Larsam, · Larsamki ma id-di-nu [-šum] have given him i garment i better sort garment, io I subatu I sabutu lum-7a,3 10 šiglu silver shekels [kaspi] 10 immerê 1 gur zid [še 10 sheep, 1 gur of barley flour, 1 il Šamaš agent: Ubar Lulu and ... gir U-bar dLu-lu ù I subatu [ı garment total o silver shekels, 6 garments naphar o [šiglu kaspi] 6 subatê II immerê I gur zid še 11 sheep, 1 gur of barley flour. an-nu-um ša a-na Lar[samki] ub-lu-šum when I brought him into Larsa. I subatu 150 še ta-ám I garment 150 ga of barley each one of itu] 8 kam 8 months i-nu-um-ma iš-tu Larsamki ma when I brought him from Larsa a-na âl Î-lì-i-din-namki ub-lu-sum to Al Ili-idinnam gir U-bar dLu-lu agent: Ubar Lulu. I subatu gir il Sin-id-lam-gi-iš lù-túg I garment, agent: Sinidlangiš, the clothier 10 ma-na šipâte iš-tu Nibruki 10 manehs of wool from Nippur, I let send to him ú-ša-bi-iš-šu4 ša e-ri-iš-tum i-pu-šu when doing the plantation; total: 2 garments, 10 manehs of naphar 2 subate 10 mana šipâte wool.

¹ Allaku, šipru.

² UŠar-Marad-da.

³ Several qualities: lum-za: du, šig, 3 and 4 kam uš; and several forms: bar-tūg lum-za, lum-za ša(g)-ba, lum-za nig-ib, lum-za su(d)-a lugal, lum-za-gi, tūg-a-su-lum-za.

⁴ Bâ'u.

150 (qa) of barley each one of the 8 150 še ta-ám itu 8 kam months ša iš-tu Larsamki il-li-kam when he left Larsam. ad-di-nu-šum I gave unto him. šu-ti-a Nu-ur dda.. ta(?) Receipts from Nûr 1 subatu 5 šiglu kaspi nu-ka-az-di ... 1 garment, 6 silver shekels of Nukazdi ... 1/2 silver shekel of Ehigišmanuk ... 1/2 šiglu kas pi E-hi giš-ma-nu-uk ... ša be-li-su-nu i-na pu-su ... which their masters as guaranty id-di-nu-tum. have given him.

No. 56. CBS. 34

Fragment of a list of accounts. Mercenaries sent (?) to Sippar to work on granaries and lodging there. The date is the 5th year of Ammiditana.

OBVERSE

OBVERSE		
[A(?)]-bi-ti agruti ka-ri(?)-um [] ša i-na Sippar ^{ki} wa-aš-bu [¹] ^{il} Adad-šar-rum mar Na-ab-lu-	who are lodged in Sippar.	
nim-ilu		
[1] I-bi ilŠamaš mar Ia-ab-ri-bu	Ibi-Šamaš son of lahrihu	
[] 2 gìn pa Ni-id-nu-um(?)	2 shekels(?), clerk Nidnum,	
[] Ka-bi-e-ra-ah	Kabierah,	
[] 2 gìn pa Ka-bi-e-ra-ab	2 shekels(?) clerk Kabierah	
[]-ti Ka-şi-e mar I-ba-[]	ti-Kaşi son of Iba	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
[] pa Mu-ti a-ra-mu	clerk Muti-aramu	
[] şab-ta kaspa im-hu-ru	of the workmen(?) have received	
	the money.	
[]-ṣi-dam la il-li-[]	have not gone(?)	
Rev	ERSE	
[sab-ta e-ne(?) ud il-li []	of the workmen when	
[] a-na agruti[]		
	received.	
40 agruti	40 mercenaries	

¹ Abitu: decision. Ebitu: dwelling.

No. 57. CBS. 469

Fragment of a clay cone in shape of a nail. Restoration of the temple E-babbar of Sippar, at the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon, probably the 18th year of Samsu-iluna.

COLUMN I

En [the lord . . . d the divine ... had ... mu-un-nabar-ra [away ... Zimbir [ki in Sippar ... uru-bi-ta ki-šu-gi in the city, he restored, båd-bi ni-libir [its wall had decayed, é babbar-ra the temple Ebabbar, ki-bi šú-gí-gí-de in order to restore; ŭ-nir gi-unu-na his august ziggurat mah-a-ni where he has his shrine, sag-bi an-dim in order to raise il-i-de its head unto heaven: dBabbar dŠú-nir-da-ir for Šamaš and Aa, in their magnificent abode, ki-dúr azag-ne-ne-a bád nig-hul-hul-la-bi-šú in order to lead them within the walls tu(r)-tu(r)-dewhere they rejoice, ka-gar dBabbar(?) ma-da-na where the message of Samas are ne-in-dú(g)-ga-a conveyed to his land: ud-bi-a in that day, when the valiant hero Šamaš ur-sag dun dBabbar nam-gal dEn-zu-ge the great dignity of Sin(? or Enlil) Zimbirki é babbar-ra at Sippar in Ebabbar, mu-ni-in-tar-ra 1 partook, bul-la-dim in sign of rejoicing gir(?) ma-na-ni [were sent(?) ... é-ne-in the temple

COLUMN II

dumu(?) lugal? [
kur gú [

sag-il [
nig-ud-dú [
lum-e [
ba-dím [
lugal [

No. 58. CBS. 8288

Semitic letter. Time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.

A-na Lù-ga-a To Lugâ ki-bi-ma speak: um-ma Šumi-i-lì-šu ... So says Šumi-ilišu dEn-lil ù dNin-lil May Enlil and Ninlil li-ha-al-li-tu-ka grant thee life. 60 pots of first quality oil(?) 60 karpat šamni1 a-ša-ri-da a-na Babiliki i-sakipir ...(?) to Babylon have been ... si-pu² is-su [ri?] i-na Nibru[ki] nets(?) or birds(?) in Nippur, send and ... he shall be able(?) šu-bi-i-ma i-ka-al] it-ta-ad(?) [command ... he shall give(?) i-bi za-at [

No. 59. CBS. 14212

A date formula perhaps of 26th year of Hammurabi or 26th of Samsuiluna:

mu dag gir-ka-gal-la ba-túm.

Year when the stone: "sword of great command" was brought up.

No. 6o. CBS. 8359

List of gods and their votive offerings or personal emblems?.

[]	^{il} Nusku	to Nusku
	ilEa	to Ea
	^d Nin-uraš	to Ninib
gu(d) udu	dPa-gibil-sag	bull, sheep to Pagibilsag
$gu(d)$ sig- $su(?)^3$	dEzinu.	bull, twisted wool(?) to Ašnan.

¹ Or karânu: wine; kurunnu: sesame-wine.

² Stpu: matting (or squeeze, mould?). Sibu: to catch. Sipa ša işşuri, SAI. 7685.

³ Or sal-áš-qar?

udu-gal	^d Dun-šá(g)-ga	ram to Dun	šagga
sìg babbar kid babbar	^d Nin-me-tag ¹	white wool, white lin	en to Nin-metag
$gu(d)$ - $\acute{u}r^2$ $gu(d)$	dBabbar	bull from park(?), bu	ill, to Babbar,
amar amar-ur	$^dNanna(r)$	young dogs	to Nanna(r)
$gi(?)^3$	^d Innina	cane reed(?)	to Innina
dub azag	^d Nidaba	metal tablet	to Nidaba
dalla(?) kú(?)gà4	dŠù-par-gam-si(?)	a	to Šupargam si ⁸
	dNin-bar-azag-ga,	to Ninbarazag	
	^d Nin-ka-si	to Ninkasi ⁶	
[]	^d Immer.	to Immer.	

No. 61. CBS. 14217

Ruling of the yearly supply of food and drink offering in the temple of Nusku (?) at Nippur (?) by order of King Hammurabi in the 35th year of his reign. Regular morning and evening sacrifices seem to be provided for, as well as some special circumstances and feasts. In the 31st year of his reign Hammurabi most probably conquered South Babylonia down to Larsa and Ur, and drove Rim-Sin away. Restoration and endowment of temples was part of the traditional politics. By so doing, the legitimate king secured the protection of the god and confirmed his power. The last column gave a list of priests and officials of the temple, with an account of their daily allowance.

COLUMN I

Dub šuku(m) šu-gi-[na ⁷] ša \acute{e} ^d [Nusku(?)]	Tablet of the regular meat (offerings) of the temple of Nusku(?)
ša(g) mu 1 kam ⁸ ša šarru ú-ki-in-nu	within 1 year, which the king has established,
arah Simanu um 20 kam	the 20th of Simanu,

¹ Nun-me-tag: gašam, abkallu.

² Me-ninnû?

⁸ Or Sal-sil: she-lamb.

⁴ Or: gun-nag-gà, libation vase.

⁵ Cf. ^dUmun-sa-par, Br. 8805.

⁶ Cf. Langdon, PBS. X, 2, No. 9, p. 143.

⁷ Cf. *Udu Šu-gi-na*, AO. 5478 (RA. VIII, p. 82); CT. IV, 31^b. Offering for the time of the new-moon, the full-moon, the end of the month.

⁸ Cf. ana šattuk umim 1, ana paššur "Šamaš, Urumuš, d), SAK. p. 162.

mu il Ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal ka dEn-lil-lá ta bád Ma-ríki mu-un-gul-u-la I udu-u-num-gum I ba sig 70 (qa) zid-sag 6 qa zid gum gar-sal 12 ga zid kal 5 qa 5 gìn a-tir 15 gin za-mi-du-um² sar]-ug sar.

the year when King Hammurabi by order of Enlil destroyed the walls of Maer. 1 slaughtered large grazed sheep. I fine fish 70 qa of choice flour, 6 ga of pounded flour, women food 12 qa of coarse flour, 55 gin of a-tir1 15 gin of şamiru² plante plante.

COLUMN II

1 ga 1 qa 10 gin [6½ gìn iá [-nun a-na kam-aš³ egli 13 bur-gi4

2 peš ab-ba ha-si(g)5

5 qa kaš sig 10 (qa) zid gum 20 (ga) kaš du si-gar ha šuku(m) ud te-na ud gi(g) ba⁶

2 munšub7 udu 2 qa gar sag I qa gar zid-gum I qa gar gal

I gam gar iá-de-a iá-nun

1 qa ... 1 qa 10 gìn ... 6½ gin of fine butter ... for the of the field: "the 13 pots .."

2 big sea fishes, dried up fishes, 5 ga of choice drink

10 qa of pounded flour,

20 ga of common drink, for the locks, food for the twilight, for the verging night

2 sheep skins

2 qa of fine food,

1 qa of pounded flour,

1 qa of grand food,

1 gam of food besmeared with oil, and butter

¹ Sasqu flour, SAI. 11325, 11445.

² Cf. giš za-mi-ri-tum, Myhrman, BE. III, No. 76, l. 22. And samru: TDY

³ Kam: êrêşu. Cf. Har, and kamaşu.

⁴ Or bur-zi: sabbaru.

⁵ Hašalu, mašalu, dried up, split open. 6 Cf. Le temps des rois d'Ur, pp. 42-43.

¹ Ibid., p. 42: tab+subur-tu, šartu.

COLUMN III

1 bur [-gi	ı pot of
ı ba sig [i fine fish
12 bur-gi [12 pots of
2½ qa kaš [2½ qa of drink
šuku(m) ud te-na [food for the twilight
2 munšub udu [2 sheep skins
ı qa gar zid g-[um	1 qa of food, pounded flour,
ı gam gar-iá[-de-a	gam of food besmeared with oil
2 [2 [
• • • • • • •	• • • •

COLUMN V

88½ qa [88½ qa
118 qa [118 qa
2 (gur) 218 ga ga	2 gur 218 qa of fat (cheese?)
šuku(m) šu-gi-na mu 2 kam	regular food for 2 months
iš-tu 6 udu	moreover 6 sheep:
3 (gur) 84½ ga 4 gìn	3 gur 841/3 qa 4 gìn,
1½ qa ka-lum 3 qa ka-lum ni(?)-tuk	1½ qa of dates, 3 qa of dates
5 qa 9 gìn iá-nun	5 qa 9 gìn of butter,
5½ qa iá-giš	5½ qa of sesame oil
⁵ / ₆ qa 4 gìn ga-bar	59 gin of pressed (?) cheese.
⁵ / ₈ qa 4 gìn lugal-è-a	59 gin, when the king goes out
$\frac{1}{2}$ qa ma+gunu []	½ qa of ma+gunu

COLUMN VI

]-nar-sa	the singers
[3 qa?]-3 bur-gi	3 qa 3 pots
6 nin-dingir	6 priestesses.
1 qa 1 bur-gi	ı qa ı pot
ı qa kaš dumu-sal	ı qa of drink to the daughter
lù-dingir-ra	of the priest.

The sheep skin (šartu: munšub) as part of the regular offerings helps toward a better understanding of two difficult terms

in the Drehem texts: mu-du-lum and tab+subur-tu.¹ The Yale syllabary² knows several signs composed with: wool, sig.

1. sìg+lam, No. 182–185: bakû (še); pašâšu (šeš); šikinnu

(šikin); mudulu, kirêtu (adkin).

2. sìg+lam+subur, No. 186-187: ittutti (aš); šartu (mim-šub).

The second sign is identical to tab + subur of the Drehem tablet. Tu is a phonetic complement, inviting to a reading šartu or ittutu: skin, and presage. It is interesting to find fleece and omina so closely connected. We had already noted how the sign resembles the sign for presage (uzu: purussu) in the code (XXVII, 27). The skin could be used as a leather bottle for libation (tab + subur a - bal).

The term *mu-du-lum* is no other than the 1st sign (No. 185) of the Yale Syllabary. It is explained by the word *kirêtu*; a feast, a banquet, which gives a very good sense in all the texts where we find it.

No. 62. CBS. 14236

Enigmatic little fragment. List of names of the Cassite period, which look like a list of years.

mu I Immeru be-lì-ta-din
mu Lul-lu-ba-a-i dub-sar
mu Apil ! Zêr-ub-la
mu Ma-la-bi-e
mu ! Î-lì-kil-la-an-ni
[mu] Nu-bu-bi-i-a ša-a . . .

No. 63. CBS. 14124

Business document: A retiring man (nig-šid til-la) is handing over 1 gur 30 qa of grain (še-gab) to Damu-eribam (in-tuk), in presence of 2 witnesses. The date may be the 7th or 27th of King Samsu-iluma:

mu nig bàr-bàr-ra gur-gur3-ra

¹ Le temps des rois d'Ur, p. 42.

² A. T. CLAY, YOS. I, p. 89.

⁵ Kamaru, Br. 6111.

No. 64. CBS. 14198

Legal document. Selling members of the family and the slaves of Samaš-daian, to cover his debts(?). The scene is at Nippur. The archivist Kidinnum Enlil takes an active part in it. We gain a fair estimate of the value of the human person, based on a gold standard.

[] šes-a-ni 10 gìn [guškin	his brother for 10 gold gin
	dim	
[]-bi šes-a-ni 10 gin [guš-	bi his brother for 10 gold gin
	kin-dim	
1]-bi dumu-a-ni 5 gìn guš-	bi his son for 5 gold gin
•	kin-dím	
ſ	gil-]sa dam-a-ni 5 gìn guškin-	gilsa his wife for 5 gold gin
	dím	, , ,
[]-ab-ki-ra-be dumu-sal-a-ni 5	abkirabe his daughter for 5 gold
•	gìn guškin-dim	gìn
ľ] ilSin-lu-ud-lul dumu-sal-a-ni	Sin-ludlul his daughter for 5 gold
	5 gìn guškin-dim	gìn
ſ] Rag-gab ilSin-bal-ti dumu-sal-a-ni	Raggab Sinbalti his daughter for 5
	5 gìn guškin-dím	gold gin
7	ki-in-nu ša il Šamaš-da-a-a-an	7 kinsfolk of Šamaš-daian
	sag-geme-uru 2 ma-na 19 gin	12 female and male slaves for 2 manehs
	guškin-dim	
P_1	u-ut-ili dumu Sag ^d En-lil-li lugal-ne-ne	
ſ] Ki-di-ni-nu-um dEn-lil-li pisàn-	Kidininum-Enlil archivist at
·	dub-ba-a Nibrû ^{ki} -a	
[] dumu ^d Nin-uraš-nâdin-	son of Ninib-nadin-ahe
	ahê	
1		for their full price.
	No. 65.	CBS. 15120
	Fragment of historical inscr	ription(?).
	OBV	ERSE
1]-bi-lal-a ki-azag-ga dū-a	built in a splendid place
Ī		place of increase and sick-
8.	,	4

] túr nig-nu-silig-gi] dNin-gà-gí-a¹ iskim-mah

] dEn-lil-la

ness(?)....

..... court for all that is weak

..... Nin-gagia great divineress

..... of Enlil.

¹ Gagûm, cloister. Cf. Atû (ni-gab) bâb ga-gi-im, CT. II, 41, I. 9; IV, 49 b; VI, 44a, I. 10. H. RANKE, BE. VI, 1, p. 22. The gagûm of the priestess at Sippar discovered by Scheil.

REVERSE

[]-nam-gú ¹ dImmer a-ma-ru uru	the destruction of Adad, the storm,
	ra	the tornado
[ùr-ta rim-ma	removed from the foundation,
r.		
ı]-ki(?) har-sag dag esig dag []	the mountain of diorite stone
		of stone
Г]-na-ri ba-dar-dar-e	purification, being destroyed.
L	j-na-ri va-uar-aar-e	purilication, being destroyed.

No. 66. CBS. 15121

Fragment of business document. There are 6 offices vacant in the temple of Enki and Damgalnunna: the anointer $(p\hat{a}sisu)$, the seer $(b\hat{a}r\hat{u})$, the confectioner (riqqu), the inspector (atu), the "washer of the pavement" (kisalluhu), the "vessel keeper" (sahharu). Two dignitaries are invested with the charge. They contract in presence of witnesses for a period of a year (balgub-ba). The tablet is dated³ on the 5th Segurkud, of the 24th year of Samsuiluna.

OBVERSE

Nam-šutug ⁴ nam-šab ⁵ nam-lù-šim	The offices of anointer, seer, confec-
	tioner,
nam-ni-gab nam-kisal-luh nam-bur-sar ⁶	inspector, pavement-washer, vessel
	keeper,
é dEn-ki dDam-gal-nun-na mu-a ud ⁷ -12	in the temple of Enki Damgalnunna,
	for the year
bal-gub-ba ⁸ A-at-ta-a ^d Nin-uraš ni-[]	taken in charge by Âttâ-Ninib the
ù dNin-uraš e [and Ninib-e

¹ Habâlu.

² Who opens the door(?).

³ Date alone published in, PBS. V, No. 99.

⁴ Sign REC. 230. Cf. Ur ^dŠu —, Ur ^dŠul —, Reisner, Tellob, No. 125, 141; MIO. Tello, No. 830.

⁵ Bârû ša širi, Br. 5668.

⁶ Sahbaru, Br. 4339-4341, 6979.

⁷ The year and 12 days, a solar year, or itu 12, for 12 months(?).

⁸ Bal-gub-ba is a fixed period of time (a month), opposed to bal ku-a, which may be only a few days. This term applies to mercenaries hired for a limited time, and not to regular servants and officers on yearly wages.

REVERSE

igi dEn-lil ma-[
igi A-at-ta-a [

igi A-pi-li-a bur-gul igi dEn-lil-li [

Witness Enlil ma Âttâ-Ninib Aplia seal-cutter, Enlilli ...

No. 67. CBS. 14179

Legal document. Exchange (bal) of property, 3 acres against 4 and 3 silver shekels indemnity (šu-ri-a: ramû). The old field is acquired by the king, probably Hammurabi, in order to make a cemetery. The tablet is dated on Sabat of his 33rd year.

Mu 3 gan a-ša(g) zag-ga ba-an-gub

sib-ta mu nam-uru-gal-šú nig Ilu-iddinam lugal-e šu Ilu-iddinam

ab-ta-è ana ilSin-iš-me-ni ù ilSin-e-ri-ba-am dumu-me Ib-ku-ištar šes-a-ni 4 gan a-ša(g) gibil-là uš-a-du il Nanna(r)-a-a ù 3 gìn kù-babbar šu-ri-a-bi ana Ilu-iddinam-ra in-na-an-bal igi Ap-lum dumu il Sin-ligiš igi il Nin-uraš mu-ša-lim dumu Lù Ba-u igi ilSin-ib-du-um dumu Na-bi ilSin igi I-bi ilŠamaš uku-uš pa-te-si

dumu Im-gu-ru-um igi Í-lì-ip-pa-al-za dumu Ib-da-tum igi A-pi-il-ia bur-gul dumu Ur dBa-ú Concerning 3 acres of field "standing in front" a pasture, to use as burying ground property of Ilu-iddinam, the king, from the hands of Ilu-iddinam, has acquired.

To Sin-išmeni, and Sin-eribam, sons of Ibku-ištar, his brother, 4 acres of new field,

4 acres of new field,
one side along Nannaraja
and 3 silver shekels
as cession price
to Ilu-iddinam
were given in exchange.
Witness Aplum son of Sin-ligiš,
Ninib-mušalim

son of Lu-Bau,
Sin-ibdum,
son of Nabi-Sin
Ibi-Šamaš head messenger of
the patesi
son of Imgurum
Ili-ippalza
son of Ibdatum.
Apilia the seal cutter
son of Ur-Bau.

No. 68. CBS. 14199

Cassite letter.

OBVERSE

[] mâr šarri(?)
ù šum-ma li-sa-ak-ka ta-ak-na . .

ša ti-du-u-ki-ma aš-šu-um-ma
salmi-(?)ia dEnlil dNin-lil
dNin-uraš d . . . En-lil(?) dNusku . .
du-ub-ma šum-ma li-sa-ap-pi
um-ma a-na ka-dan Sumeri
šu-zi-im-ma

anin-uraš a...En-lil(f) anusku du-ub-ma šum-ma li-sa-ap-pi um-ma a-na ka-dan Sumeri šu-zi-im-ma sa-li-im-ka li-ib-ba-ša-šu-um-ma i-na dan-na-ti šu-zu şa-bat-ma i-na ša-li-im-ti li- il-li-ka-am-ma []-ka a-na da-mi-ig-ti

and when he will have pressed thee well,
it shall mean battle,
my protection (?) Enlil, Ninlil,
Nin-ib ..., Nusku,
be good, and when he prays
it is to conquer Sumer;
come out and
he shall be thy ally,
come out in force and hold on and
he shall go in peace.
and he shall ... for grace,

REVERSE

li-[]
ù umma a-[na]
ša ra-[bi ...
ù pa[] šu-u zu il(?)-zu
i-na-an-na a-na pa-ni be-li-ia-ma
tab-ba | Uz-za An-ri-ši ù []

ni-ki-im-ma An-ri-ši
i-na-an-na i-na dan-na-am(?) be-li il-[
li-is-lam(?) da(?)-ik(?) li ... am-ma
pa-ni be-li-ia lu ... mir(?)
i ... am-ma ana be-li-ma.

he shall ...
and so for ...
that is great ...
and in face of ..., come out they claim.
Now it is all under the eyes of my
master.
The associates Uzza, Anriši and ...

We have taken Anriši
Now in the fortress the master shall...
and shall make alliance... and
in front of my master may I...
and ... is to my master.

No. 69. CBS. 11014

Historical letter recording the campaign of Nazimaruttas against Mat Namri, how he conquered 12 cities and added them to the dominion of Enlil.

OBVERSE

[] / Na-zi-marad-daš šar šarrê(?) ... Nazi-maruttaš king (of kings?)
[] / Na-zi-marad-daš šar šarrê(?) ... Nazi-maruttaš king (of kings?)

	[] ša-te kal a-a¹-meš ši-kar []-ri	drink of all fathers, was(?) dattel- wine
4	a-na haţţi(-i)-šal-la dar-bu-u ur [to Haţţi-šalla(?) offspring of (?).
/	al(?)-tu(?) a-na karani	drink(?) in grape-wine.
(**	it-ta-na-aš-ka-nu-ma sip-pi-ši lu [they have been brought down and its
17-	is the the the that the stip pt still [covering
	la i-kaš-ši-du li-tum u ki-šit-[tum.]	they have not been taken, victory and
	qatê u šepâ(?)	conquest of hands and
, •	na-ki-ri-šu la i-šak-ka-nu gaš-ri	his enemies shall not lay on in force.
	1 il Marduk-mu-rim-ki apil 1 il Šamaš-	Marduk-murimki son of Šamaš-šuri,
	šu-ri	The same of the sa
_	ina šu-tum(?) il Marduk beli-šu ina bîtī	in dream saw Marduk his lord in the
	u-šab-ri-ma	temple, and
	qatê il Enlil beli-šu ina bîti ša ki-rib	the hands of Enlil his lord in the tem-
	$Ni-br\hat{u}^{ki}(?) a\check{s}(?)$	ple that inside of Nippur
1-1	ma-ag-ga(?)-du(?)² karani ba-at-lu	a vase (offering) of wine that had
	la šal-mu iš-ša-lu-šu	ceased no more intact was dedi-
		cated to him,
	i-na ter-tum patri šu ša-gu šari é-kur šu	with the sign of his lofty spear, the
	nik-na-ku-šu	
		censer,
1.+	i-nat-tu-ši ma-la tab-ba-a a-na il En-lil	they crushed it, all whatever ap-
	ú []-ri(?)	proached Enlil . they
	o Na-zi-marad-das a-mat il En-lil bêli	Nazi-maruttaš exalted the word of
	ît-ta [*] id-ma	the lord Enlil,
16	alâni meš ša mat Nam-ri ma-la [ba-šu-ú	all cities that were in the Mat Namri
	ina ki ri dan [in strong
	u-šab [he caused to
	Dry	ERSE
	[] 12 alâni mes pi-bat [12 cities of the district of
		he
	a-na kan-ga-nu ^{il} En-lil bêli-šu u-šik [du-ur da-riš	to the dominion of his lord Enlil he
	a-na qatê ^{il} En-lil mu-im-bi bi-a-šu ri-ba	subjected for ever
	ali gar-ri	into the hands of Enlil, who let shine(?) the ruins(?) a fourth of city (for)
	an gar-ri	destruction(?)
	li-ma-ithal-bid (2) barany distry himsty	he delivered (?) wine, honey, butter,
	inbu	fruits
		110115
	¹ Or: kal-abê.	

² Cf. magdû, magaddu, magdadu.

še-i ma-la ba-šu-u Pi duppi ! ilEn-lil-ia-ba(?)-nu

' Ba-zu-zu bal-tu ^{il}Enlil u ^{il}Nin-lil ^{il}Ninib u ^{il}Nusku ... i-ta-bal-šu ina-arhi-šu [a-na(?)] bêli-šu i-sa-ţir-šu grain, all that was there.

According to the tablet of Enlil-iahanu(?)

Bazuzu, alive (by?) Enlil
and Ninlil, Ninib and Nusku,
... has brought it, in the same month
when it was written to his lord.

No. 70. CBS. 13880

Business document. The date, "the 16th year," is somewhat uncertain.

3 (gur) 90 (ça) še bar-ra giš-bar dingir še-ba

ki ! il Marduk-ni-zu
! il Nabû-na-din-abê meš
šu-ba-an-ti
a-na um eburi šú
ni-šam-e
Arab Tašriti
um 21 kam
mu 16 kam.
! il Nabû-nadin-abê meš
i-nu-ma
i-na duppi ! Kur-a-zu-zu

I-a-ni ka-ni-ik

3 gur 90 qa of ground barley, measure
of the god, as rations
from Marduk-nizu
Nabû-nadin-ahê
has received.
On the day of harvesting
he shall pay.
Month of Tašrit
the 21st day,
the 16th year.
Nabu-nadin-ahê
when
on the tablet of Kurazuzu

his seal(?) was impressed.

No. 71. CBS. 7188

Food receipt, dated the 3rd year of Kudur-Enlil, under the seal of Ninib-nadin

4 (gur) 10 (qa) geme giš-bar 300 qa(?). ak-lum harra-nu Larsam ki gati! Ași ilŠamaš ilAdad ina libbi! Ta-zi-ik(?) na-as-ha-am-ma, ka-an-ka-sa(?)-šu

4 gur 10 qa of flour, measure of 300 qa food for the expedition of Larsa, into the hands of Aşi-Šamaš-Adad On Tazik it was drawn and marked with his seal.

No. 72. CBS. 14203

Donation.

Na-din-tu ša [†] Ti-zu ^{il}Marduk a-na Şi-lu-u-ti i-din-nu. Donation that Tizu-Marduk bestowed on Siluti.

I sikkatu ... na i-si-hi ti-ra i-na šatti 5 ma-lul dEn-lil I ma-na šipati 10 (qa) iá-giš ina ali Larsamki I ma-na šipati 150 (ga) ina ali Nibruki

I lubuštu kab-ru! Nīg-ba-ia dumu-a-

Naphar 4, 1/2, 1/3 nig huraşi ša ina gati 1 Ti-zu il Marduk | Si-lu-tu mab-ru

1 peg to close a cover during 5 years to Malul-Enlil I pound of wool, 10 ga of sesame oil at Larsa

1 pound of wool, 150 qa at Nippur I heavy garment for Nigbaia his son

Total $4+\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{3}$ nig of gold belonging to Tiz-Marduk, Silutu has received.

No. 73. CBS. 13878

Business document dated the 8th year of Kudur-Enlil.

No. 74. CBS. 14197

Food expense (ak-lum) by the hands (qat) of Uzipu, on the 3rd year of Kudur-Enlil.

No. 75. CBS. 15062

Business document, dated the 1st year of Sagarakti-šuriaš.

2 eru ki-tu-u ša ma-la(?) 23/3 ma-na ki-lal-bi ša ištu ali Ardi-bēlit iš-šu-nim qati ! Amel il Marduk I eru ku-tu-u

2 copper covers, that ... 23/3 pounds their weight, which from the city of Ardi bêlit they removed by the hands of Amel Marduk. i copper vase

No. 76. CBS. 15220

Cassite letter.

OBVERSE

A-na be-li-ia qi-bi-ma um-ma ! il Marduk-ri-še-šu na-ka a-na di-na-an be-li-ia lu-ul-lik

To my master say: thus (speaks) Marduk-rišešu ... To the justice of my master may I find access Peace to the city and peace to the

ana ali šulmu ù é-dingir-ra šu-ul-mu

temple.

72 ša-ki-lum ša-par-[

72 keeper of ...

[] é dnir-gal nibruhi	temple of the hero of Nippur
[] im-lu ba [] ir ga-a-ti	have filled of the hand
[]-ta-ka-an [] še ša-ki-li	grain of the keepers
[] ba-du ši [] su-ip-pi-in-ni	rejoice of the cover.
[]-ta []-an	0 + 0 0 0 0 4
[] ri []-di ma-a-li	of the country,
a-na abulli dEn-lil al-ta-ni	to the great gate of Enlil, I come again.
2 ši-pi [] ša kirê meš	2 fences(?) of orchards
ar-ta-pï-ik	I have worked up.
20 še-zer ša ú-il [20 measures of seeds of

REVERSE

[] ba-ar []	afterward(?)
[] pa-te-si [] ša be-li-a	of the patesi, that my master.
[a]-na ali dìm-tuk-šeski (?)	to the city of Dim-tuk šes (?)
9 (gur) še-zêr 3 (gur) ta-ám	9 gur of seeds 3 gur at a time
it-ta-as-su	have been taken.

No. 77. CBS. 15151

Cassite letter. Culture of land. The sesame of the king is being ground (ha-ma-šum). The fields have been sowed (še-um id-di-nu-šum). By the sun god they shall thrive: (i-na di-i-in il šamaš, la i-ha-ab-ba-lu-šu).

No. 78. CBS. 14135

Survey of land. Plan for field irrigation about B.C. 1250. A total of 138 canals are cut across Eden, probably the land around Nippur, covering it with a regular net-work for water-supply. Three or four larger districts are mentioned in connection with the main canal from which the water was led to smaller places or villages. The district of Kar-Ninlil has a total of 76 new branches off the main river. The district of Nâr eššuti has only 12 cuts around Bit-Ellil. The name of the third district with its 30 branches is lost. Dated the 12th year of Sagarakti-šuriaš.

OBVERSE

naphar 30 me-e nâr [] total			total 30 canals of the river
26	ali Dùl-bu [] ki	26 of the village(?) Dulbu,
4	ali Kislah-bi	ki	4 of Kislahbi,
10	ali Dûr il Nin-mah	ki	10 of Dûr-Ninmah,
II	ali Kar il Ba-ú	ki	11 of Kar-Bau,
10	ali pa-te-si meš	ki	10 of "The patesis,"
7	ali Ur-pi ilEn-lil	ki	7 of Urpi-Enlil,
7 8	ali Karri ! Kar-zi-tim	ki	8 of Karri-Karzitim
naphar 76 me-e nâr pihati ali Kar Total 76 canals from the river in t			
^{il} Nin-lil			district of Kar-Ninlil.
12	ali Bît ilEn-lil	ki	12 of Bit-Enlil,
me-e nâr eššu-ti			canals of the Nâr-eššuti.
Šu-nigin 138 har git-ma-lu-u-tum,			Total 138 canals completely cut cover-
wa-pa-lim edin-na			ing the plain.

No. 79. CBS. 14219

Business document dated the 1st year of Nabu šum(?)-ukin-nu(?).

No. 8o. CBS. 14180

A Nippur gold treasure in the 5th year of Nazi-maruttas. The tablet is not complete. There must be an interval of four or five lines between the two portions preserved. The left corner is broken off. The tablet is a catalogue of over 125 jewels in gold and precious stones, chalcedony, lapis-lazuli, agate, etc. They rank from caskets all gold, or with stones inlaid, down to necklaces, bracelets, anklets, seal-cylinders in gold mounting, eyes of stone in gold mounting, breastplates, earrings, tablet mould and tongue of gold. They were brought from Nippur and Dur-Kurigalzu into Ardi-Bêlit. The two last named places seem to have been parts of the same city of Nippur. The tablet does not state under what circumstances the removal was made.

The royal treasure was likely preserved in the temple. The king was the šakkanakku of the god, entrusted with his seal, and disposing of his property. The same jewels are frequently

mentioned in royal despatches. They agree in form and material with what we know of the Cassite period. Some of them have been excavated near the temple of Enlil at Nippur, covered with inscriptions that make certain the name and piety of the kings. They were all votive objects in form of discs, scepter knobs, tablets, axes, rings, seal cylinders and eyes. They were presented to Enlil, Ninlil, Ninib, Nusku, by Kurigalzu and his successors. The collection included all sorts of precious material: agate, lapis-lazuli, magnesite, feldspar, ivory, turquoise, malachite, amethyst, gold and porphyry.

Should we try to realize the historical background of the present tablet, we may bear in mind the following facts. Nippur was ruined by an Elamite invasion at the time of Kaštiliašu. about B.C. 1250. This king is the last mentioned in the collection of votive objects preserved in the temple. No Cassite² tablets have been found in Nippur that antedate Burnaburias. about B.C. 1380. He is the best known correspondent of the Egyptian kings, anxious to secure gold for the temple work and exchange gifts and jewels. Now, we must not forget that the Cassite kings brought a foreign rule into Babylonia, but got only by degrees the control of the whole land. We know for example, that: "King Kurigalzu, having conquered the country of the sea, added Babylon and Borsippa unto his country"—a sure proof that he did not rule them before. This same king did build in Nippur, probably, his residence at the time, a palace or fortress named after him: Dur-Kurigalzu. It was connected with old Nippur by a stone dam or canal, that passed likewise by Ardi-Bêlit. Kurigalzu was succeeded by his son Burnaburias. Both of them were strong kings, allies and relatives of the kings of Egypt. But soon after them, the growing power of Assyria brought trouble into the land. The Assyrian king, Assur-uballit, following up the usual matrimonial policy, gave

¹ The largest collection was discovered by Dr. Peters in 1890. The store room for keeping treasures and gifts was discovered by Haynes in the S. E. wall of the fortified enclosure. It was a cellar 36 × 11½ feet and 8½ feet deep, dating from Ur-Engur, and covering an older one 2 feet below.

A. T. CLAY, BE. XIV, XV; H. RADAU, BE. XVII, 1.

his daughter as a wife to the son and heir of Burnaburias. The Cassites resented the intrusion, revolted and killed the prince, which fact brought the Assyrian armies down into Babylonia with the object of extending the Assyrian protectorate over the country.

The correctness of this view is confirmed by an Assyrian document of Adad-nirari great-grandson of Assur-uballit, and likely contemporary of Nazi-maruttaš under whose reign our tablet was compiled. Adad-nirari claims for himself and his father the title of priest of Enlil. That means that the Assyrian rule was to a certain extent acknowledged in Nippur. But the great-father not having extended his dominion so far south is simply priest of Ašur, fighting the rebellious Cassite, and the great-grand-father, Assur-uballit, has only a vague title of priest of the gods.. The extreme southern limit of that fight for greater Assyria is given by Adad-nirari himself as "from Lubdi and Rapiqu." And the Assyrian king claims that he did restore the ruined Cassite cities. We know in fact that under the successor of Nazi-maruttaš: Kadašman-Turgu, the tower of Nippur temple underwent a thorough repairing. Curiously enough that very name—or city—Lubdi, is mentioned in the tablet along with iewels removed from or out of it. It looks as if storing them in safe Ardi-Bêlit was a good precaution in the troubled days of Nazi-maruttaš.

OBVERSE

Du-ul-li huraşi ša Nippuri ù Dûr
Ku-ri-gal-[zu
ša a-na al Ardi-Bêlit ina arah Šabâti brought ir

of Ša
ša šanat 5^{kam} Na-zi-[ma-ru-ut-ta-aš
šarri
1 kutallu hurâşi ga-na-ad-dul aban uknî tam-lu-û aban |
2 kutallê hurâşi zu-up-pa-tum²
2 caskets

Gold work from Nippur and Dûr-Kurigalzu,

brought into Ardi-Bêlit, in the month of Šabat,

the 5th year of King Nazi-maruttaš

casket of gold with a cover of lapislazuli and a bottom of ... stone,
caskets of gold coating,

¹ Ganânu.

² Şubatu.

1 e-rum hurâși ša har-ba-ga-ni ù box of gold with vultures(?) and a-a-ra-ni abanka-ni-[eagles in ... stone (inlaid). I e-rum burâsi ša ga-na-an-di 5 inê I box of gold the cover of which has mušgarri1 ra-ki-[5 eyes of agate stone inlaid, 5 e-rum burâsi zu-up-pu-tum 141/2 [šiglu 5 boxes of gold coating, 141/2 shekels in weight šugulti 7 KI-SUHUR ar-ma-ti2 burâsi 7 necklaces in form of chain of gold, IIšiglu [11 shekels ... 2 KI-SUHUR³ pu-gut-ti hurâși 2 necklaces in form of thorns of gold, 14 šiglu [14 shekels ... 1 KI-SUHUR pu-gut-ti ga-ba-al-šu 1 necklace in form of thorns, with a] zi-na-ti [pendant ... 2 HAR-ŠU4 buraşi ša ip-pi-[2 bracelets of gold with fruits(?)] burasi zu-up-pu-[tum of gold coating ..., 3 shekels .., 3 šiglu [. 2 HAR-GIR 2 anklets [of gold ..., 2 abankunukkê parrî [2 seal cylinders of chalcedony (?).... 2 abankunukkê uknî ih-zu hurâşi [2 seal cylinders of lapis lazuli with gold mounting, 1 abankunukku mušgarri ih-zu huraşi [seal cylinder of agate with gold mounting, 5 NUNUZ-IN5aban parrê rabâti 5 necklaces of large chalcedony stones, 7 inê6aban parrî a-di 1 lu-li da-ni-tum? 7 eves of chalcedony stone together with a dainty coat of mail in a ib-zu [burâși gold mounting, 6 inê aban parrî sihrâti la ih-zu [6 eyes of small chalcedony stone, no mounting, A inê aban mušgarri ih-zu hurasi 4 eyes of agate with gold mounting 11 bi-ir-su8aban mušgarri adi 6 ka-ak-ki 11 cut (hilt or ring?) agate stones toni-du [gether with 6 arms ... 2 tu-di-it-ti9aban uknî 2 breastplates of lapis lazuli ...

¹ Вг. 7642.

² Erimtu, arimtu.

³ Kimmatu, kinazu, šamatu. Dog collar, Reisner, Telloh, No. 229-230. Maninnu, KB. VI, p. 176, l. 169.

⁴ Šemir gatėša u šepėša.

⁶ Šusa, Br. 8183. Nakamtu šust. Cf. Jensen, KB. VI, p. 82, Z. 48.

⁶ BE. XVII, 1, No. 26 and HILPRECHT note, ibid., p. 118, n. 11. Zadim dag-har-gul-gul, REISNER, Tellob, No. 140, 149, 154, 156. Gud. Cyl. A, XVI, 27.

Lu-lu-um-tum and da-ni-tum: nahlaptu tahazi.

⁸ Harasu.

⁹ Dudinâte ša irtiša.

- 2 tu-di-it-ti ^{aban} mušgarri [
 8 in-za-ap-ti ḥa-še-e¹ ḥurâși
 8 in-za-ap-ti ^{aban}uknî
 1 ša-an² dup-pi ^{aban}parrî la ib-zu
- ı li-ša-nu³ ša hurâşi rušši napharu ša Nippuri ki

- 2 breastplates of agate
- 8 earrings of compact gold,
- 8 earrings of lapis lazuli,
- 1 tablet mould of chalcedony, no mounting,
- 1 tongue of russet gold, total from Nippur;

REVERSE

- ı kutallu hurâşi rušši ½ ma-na šuqulti
- 2 e-ru hurâşi rušši a-di ša iš-tu Lu-ub-di⁴.....ra 15 šiçlu šuqulti
- 3 e-ru burâși pišî 11 šiqlu šuqulti
- 3 KI-SUHUR ar-ma-ti hırâşi rušši 10½ šiglu šugulti
- 2 KI-SUHUR ar-ma-ti harâşi rušši 10 šiqlu šugulti
- 2 HAR-ŠU burâşi ru\ii ab-bi \a lu-u 17\square\3 \iqlu \iquulti
- ı HAR-GIR hurâşi rušši 2 šiqlu [
 naphar ša Dûr-Ku-ri-gal-zu qât
 ' Sa-bar [
- 5 e-ru hurâşi rušši zu-up-pu-tum [
 1 HAR-ŠU hurâşi rušši zu-up-pu-tum [
 1 HAR-GIR hurâşi rušši zu-up-pu-
- 11 NUNUZ-IN aban parrî aban mušgarri 5 aban [še ...

[naphar] 'ilNin-uraš-ri-zu [[] hurāṣi zu-up-pu-tum [

10 [
arah Šabâti ûm 25 kam
šatti 5 kam

Na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš šarri

- casket of russet gold 1/3 maneh in weight,
- 2 boxes of russet gold together with one from Lubdi, 15 shekels in weight,
- 3 boxes of pale gold 11 shekels in weight,
- 3 necklaces in form of chain of russet gold, 101/3 shekels in weight,
- 2 necklaces, idem, 10 shekels in weight,
- 2 bracelets of russet gold, with a facing in shape of a bull, 171/3 shekels in weight,
- anklet of russet gold, 2 shekels ., total from Dûr-Kurigalzu, from the hand of Sabar . . .,
- 5 boxes of russet gold coating ...
- 1 bracelet of russet gold coating ...
- 1 anklet of russet gold coating ...
- necklaces of chalcedony, agate, 5.... stones,

total from Ninib-rizu.

..... of gold coating ...

10

Month of Šabat, the 25th of the 5th year

of King Nazimaruttaš

¹ Hasa: entrails.

² Sânu.

⁸ Nabd. 33, 1.

⁴ BE. XVII, 1, No. 99, 6.

No. 81. CBS. 2350

Fragment of a barrel-shaped cylinder of Sargon(?) II of Assyria, that seems to establish his activity in Babylonian, and specially in Nippur reconstruction.

```
]-nim-ma(?)
                                           .... he captured(?) and
       ]-zêr-matâti mat i-bi-lu-ma [.
                                    .... the land he governed and
              še-bu-uš-šu
                                    .... under his feet.
   é-sag]-il u Babi'uki
                                    .. Esagil and Babylon,
      mu-kin sat-tuk-ku
                                    ... fixing the offering
  Babilliki sa-li-ih-šu-u
                                    ... of Babylon, its outer wall
             šu-bat-su
                                           , its dwelling
  ušum]-gal kalam-ma ú-tir-ú-ma
                                    ... the great .. of the land, he re-
                                        stored and
                    da-ra-a-ti
                                                eternal.
                                    . . . . .
                ki-rib mat Aššurki
       l ul-tu
                                              out of Assur.
                                    . . . . . .
                 is-gu-ri-šu-un
                                                  he proclaimed them
                                    .... there
                    rabutime
      ] ma-ba-si
                                    ... great ...
                šu-lub-bu
uš-te-]-ši-ru
                                    ... her ordered purifications
  ] mar(?) ! Šarukin šar mat Aššurki
                                    ... Sargon king of Assur
                ù Akkadiki
                                    fof Sumerl and Akkad
      1 ni mar ! A-da-ad šar
                                    ..... son of Adad(?) king of Assur
                        mat Assurki
                                    ..... of my lips
      ]-tu-ki šap-ti-a-a
    lil?] bêl matâti bêl-ia ša šar
                                    Enlil(?) lord of the countries, my lord
                       ma-ki-i ...
                                        who a king of destruction(?)
                           igarâti
                                    ..... the walls
```

Nos. 82, 83. CBS. 13707, 13708

Two copies of a legal document: adjustment between brothers, sons of Nabu-zêr-ukin. It is dated the first year of Aššur-e-til-lum-ilâni the son of Ašurbanipal.

No. 84. CBS. 11074

Fragment of omina(?), mixing up observations on stars and constellations with geographical names and historical events:

Umma, Uruk and Larsa (Obv. 15); mal Akkadi, mal Ki-su...(Obv. 25, 26); lugal Elamti (Rev. 14, 15).

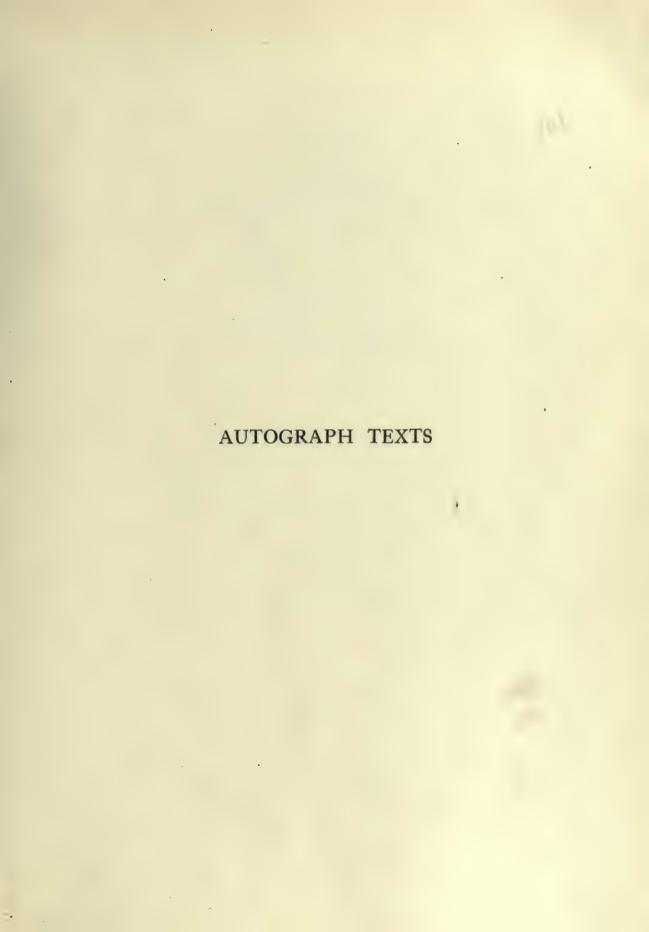
Mul-gal nig-da-gi-gibil-lá (Rev. 3); mul la-mi-na-ti(l)la (Rev. 5); mul ...har-gal, mul-dil-bat... (Rev. 10, 11); mul ha... (Rev. 18); [mul]-ur-bar-ra, mul hi-il... (Rev. 26); [mul? ku?]-še-ri Nibruhi... (Rev. 27.)

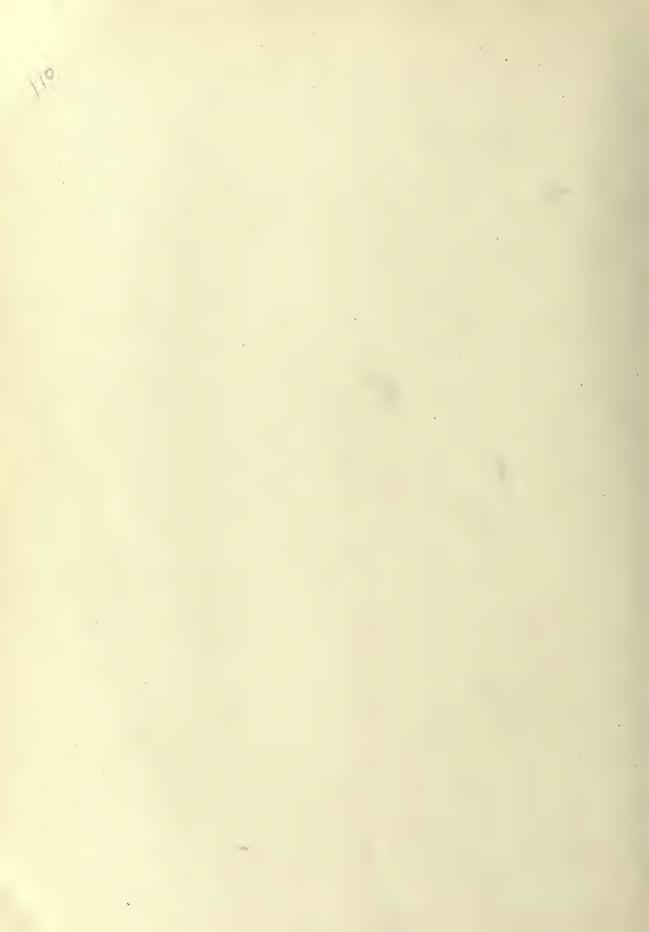
No. 85. CBS. 14204

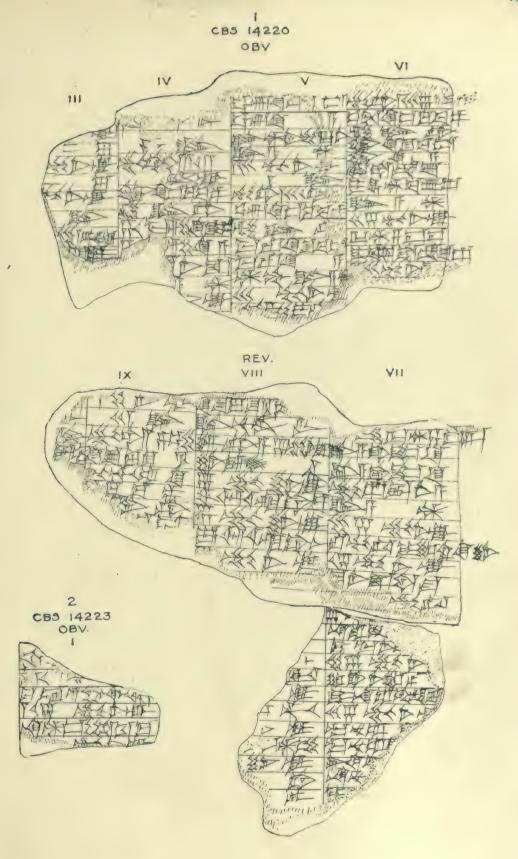
Business document dated the 42nd year of Ar-tah-kur-su(?), and bearing the seal of Gi-zu-Marduk.

INDEX OF TABLETS

85 59 41 61 79 1 2 3 4 14 15
85 59 41 61 79 1 2 3 4
59 41 61 79 1 2 3 4
41 61 79 1 2 3 4
61 79 1 2 3 4
79 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4 14
2 3 4 14
3 4 14
4
14
15
-
17
16
6
7
8
22
20
11
62
75
30
65
66
77
44
76
38

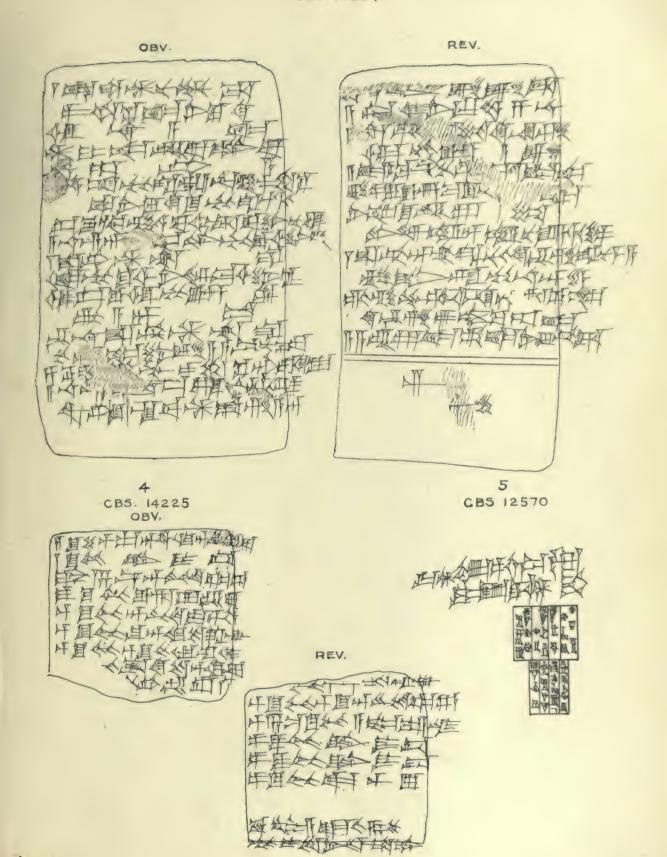


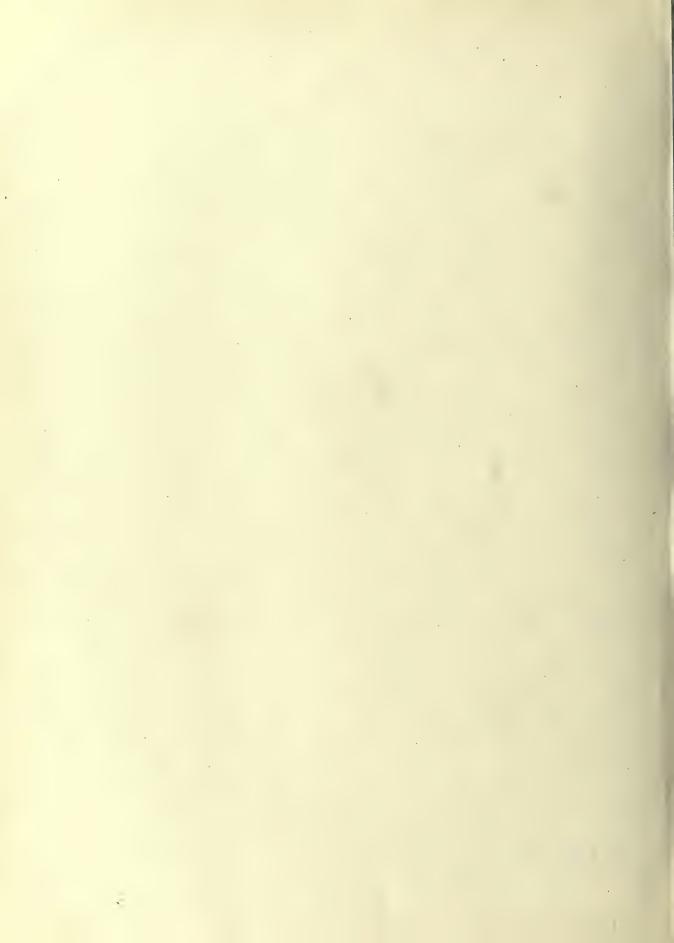






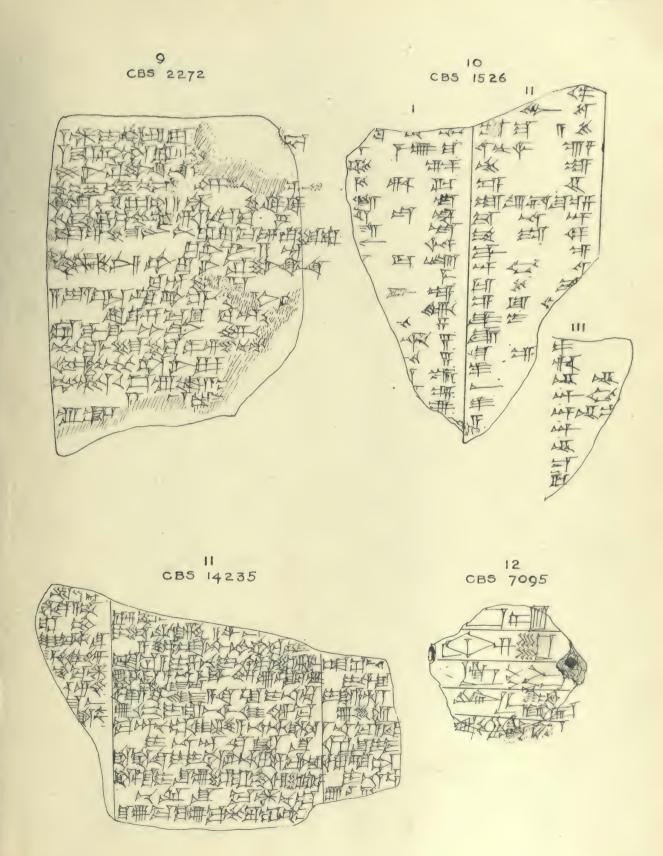
3 CB5 14224





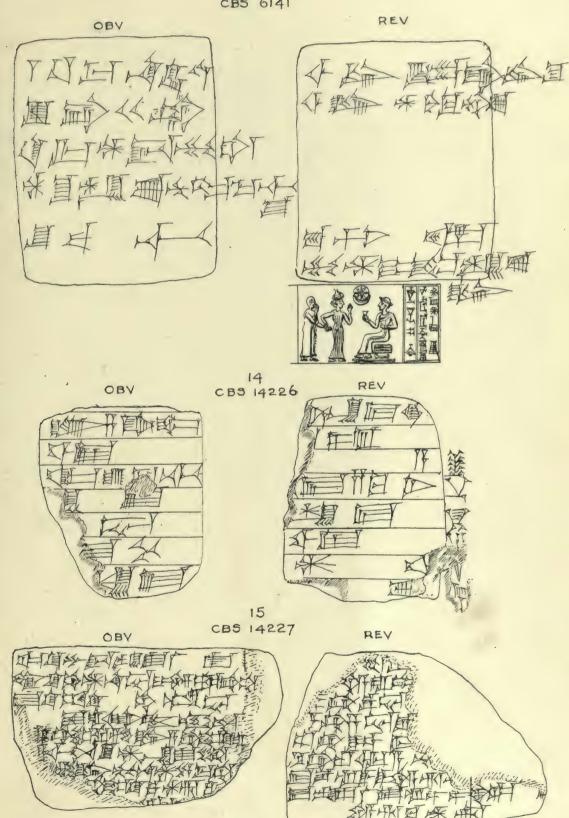
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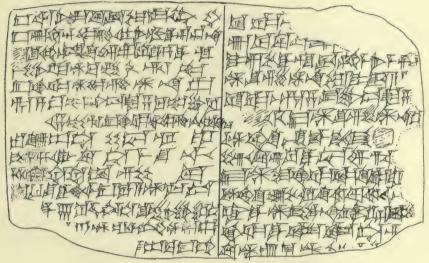
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16 CBS 14229 REV

11



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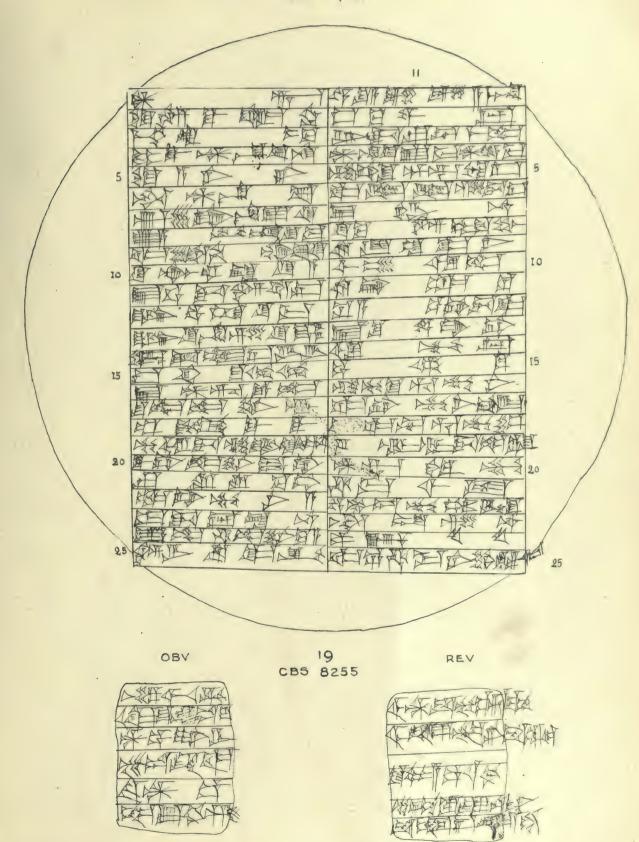
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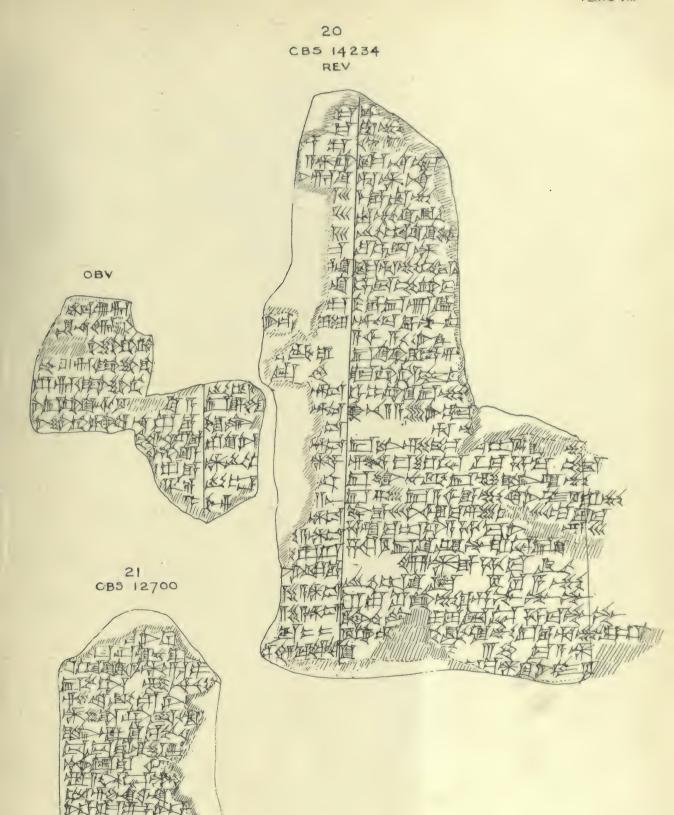
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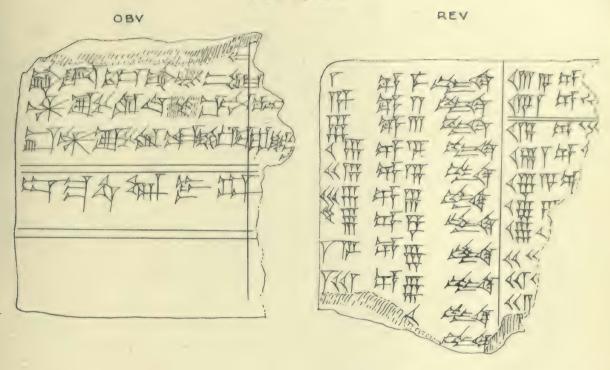


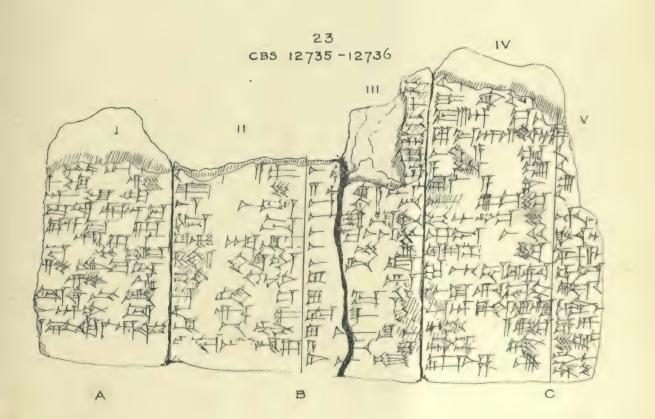




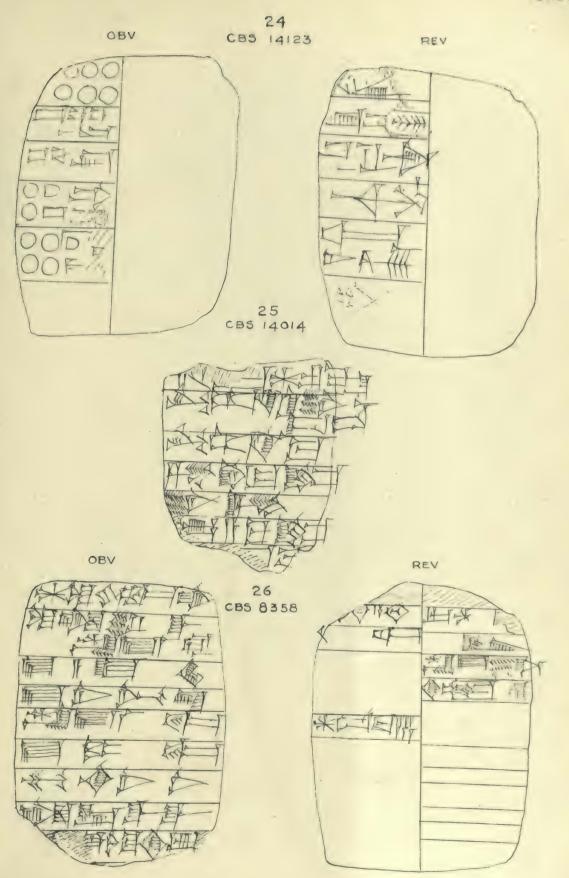


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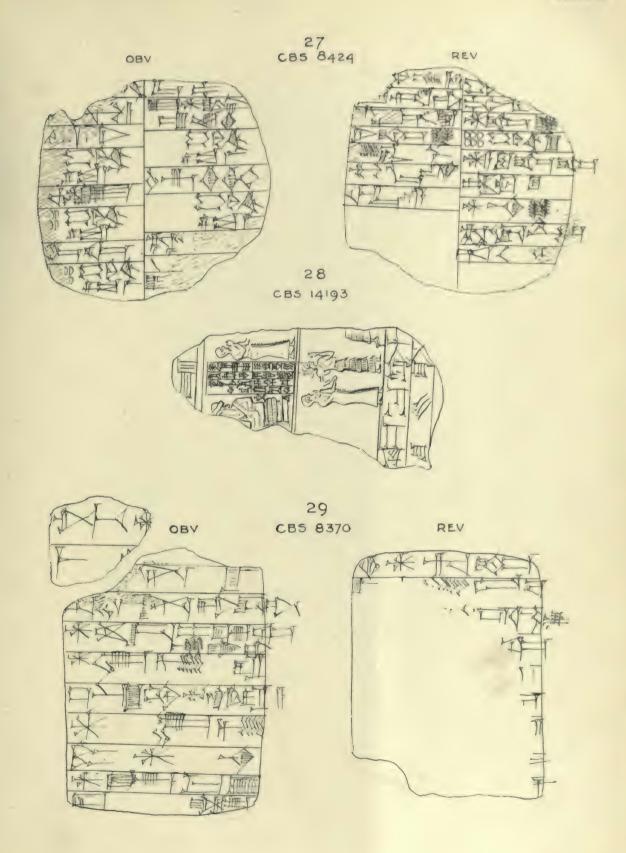














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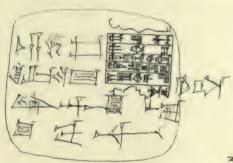
30 CBS 15066

REV



31 CB5 14177





32 CB5 8234 OBV



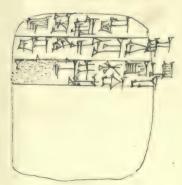


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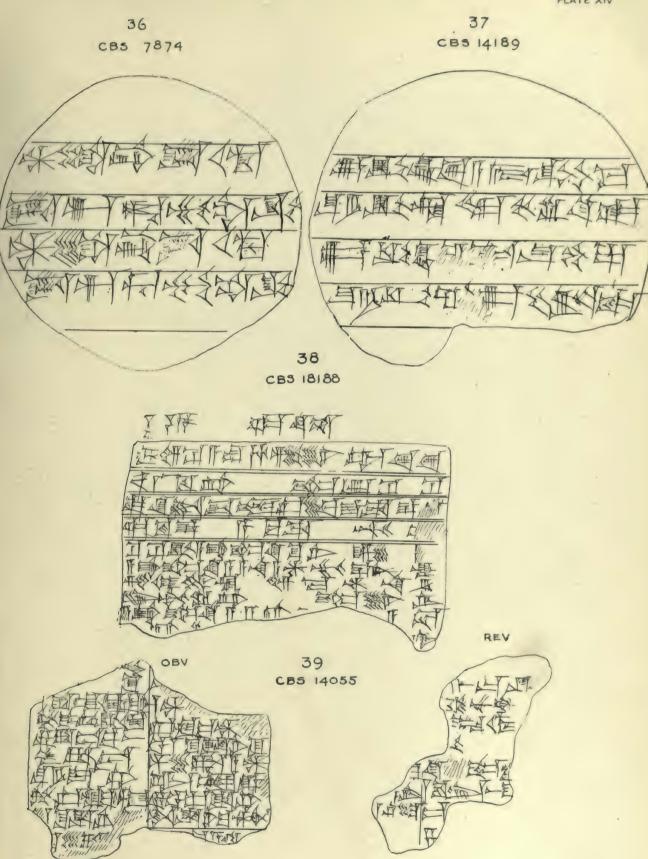


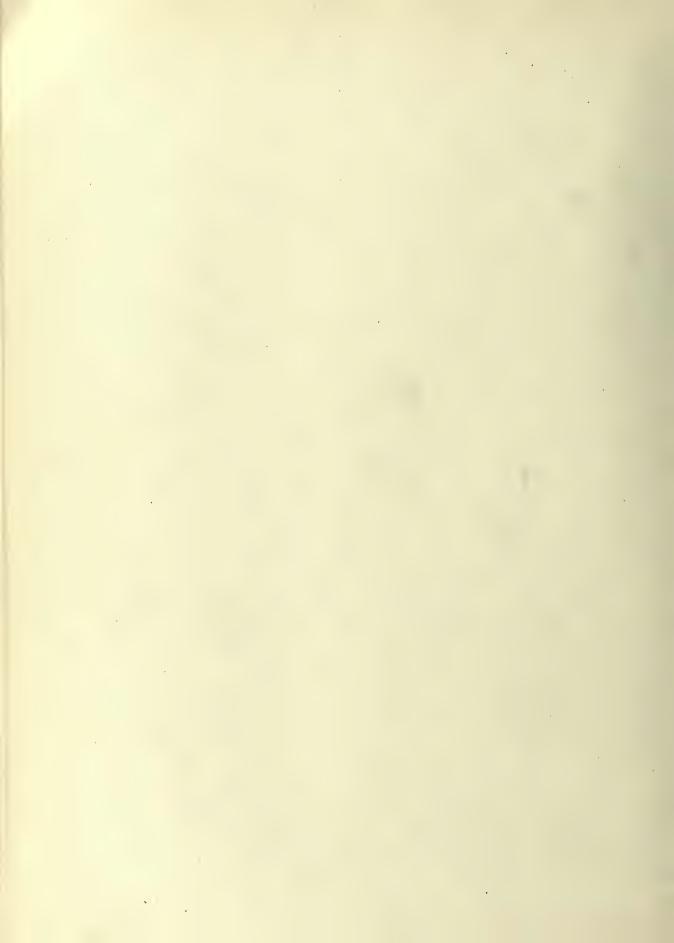


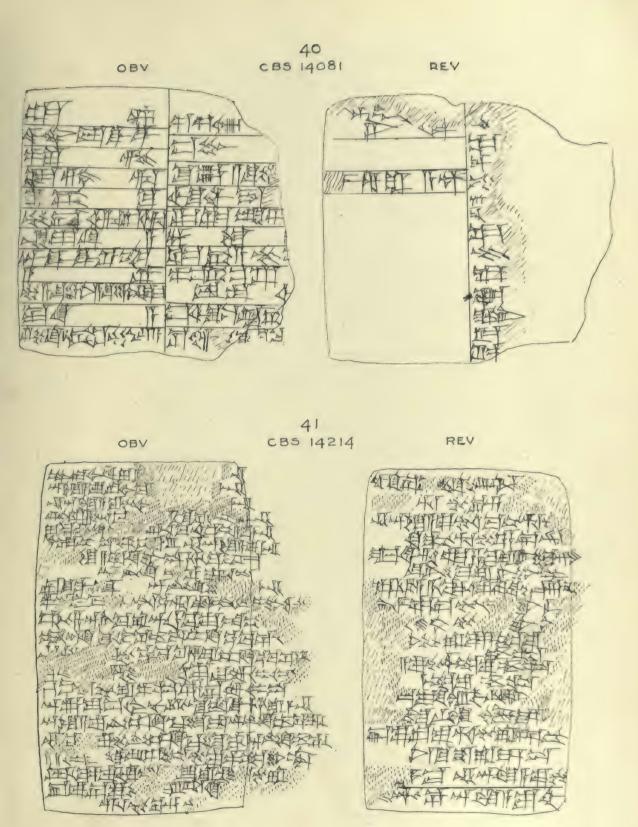




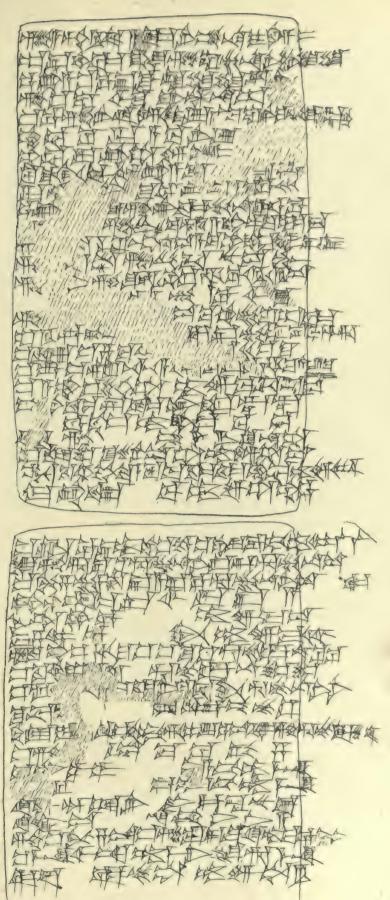


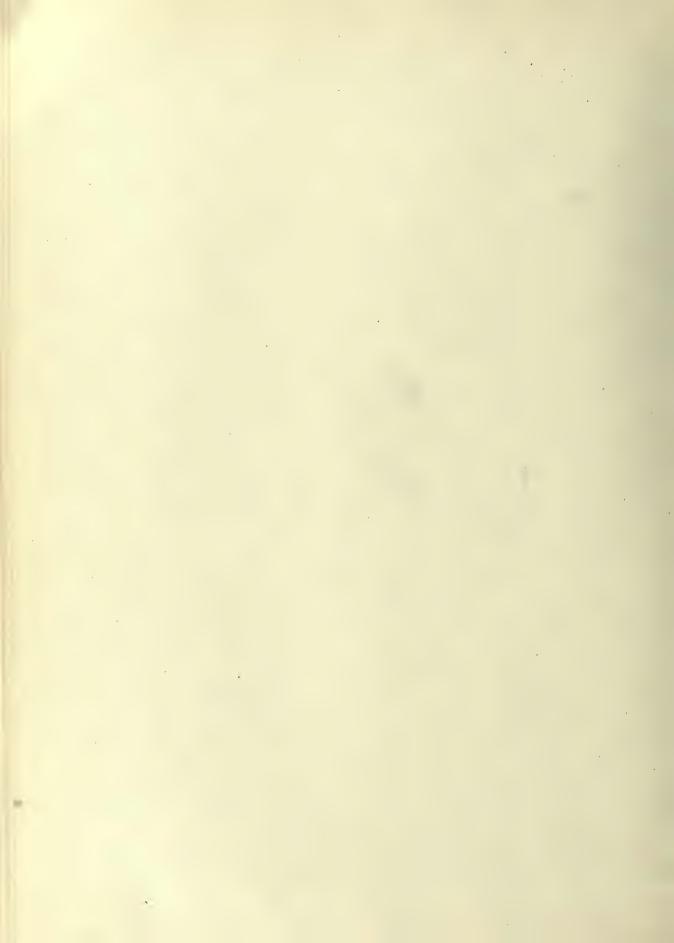




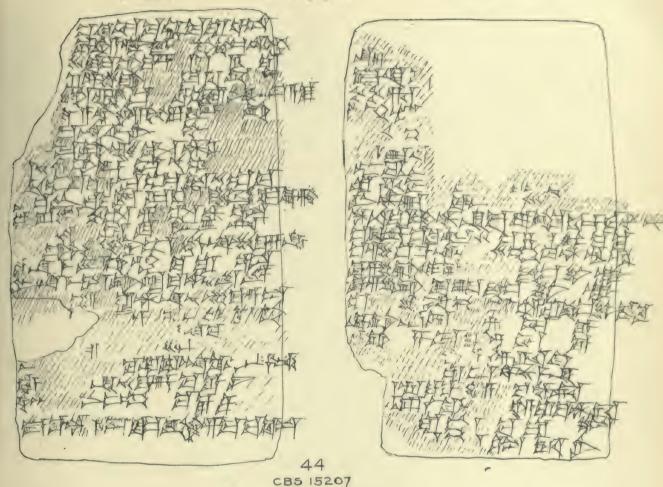


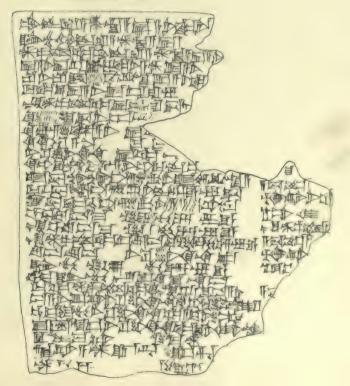






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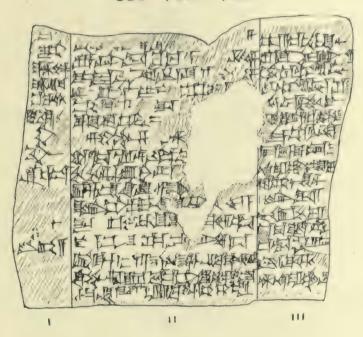




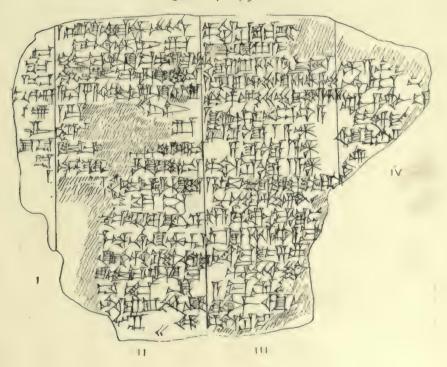




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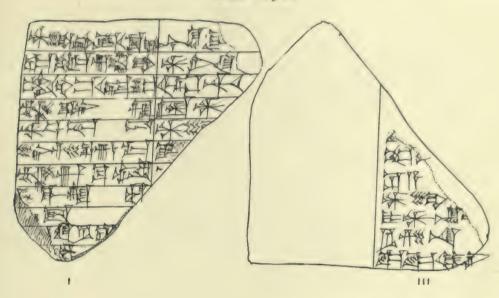


48 CB5 7849





49 CB5 13967

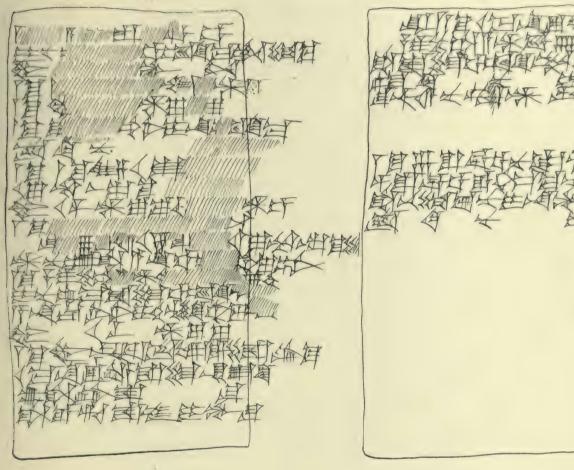


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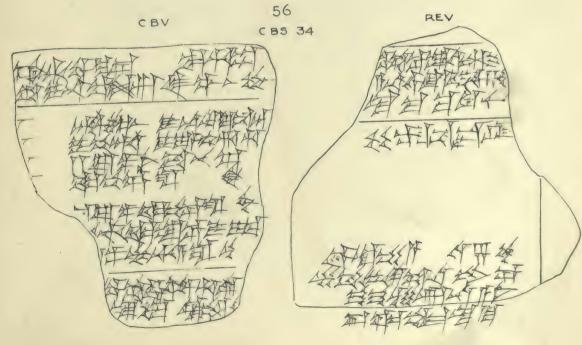




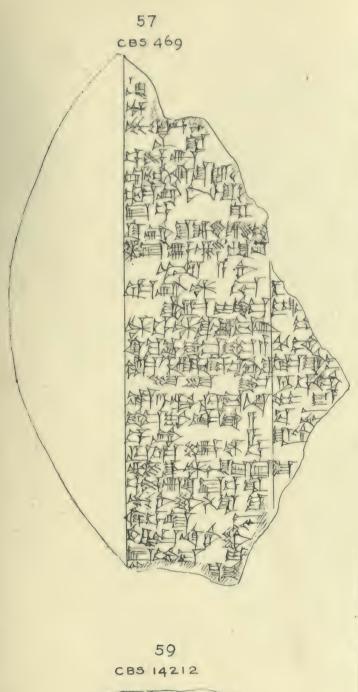
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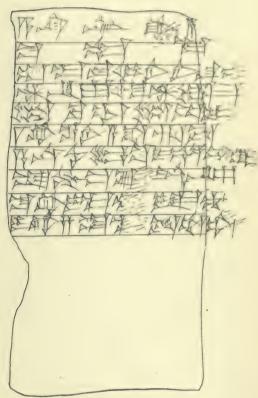




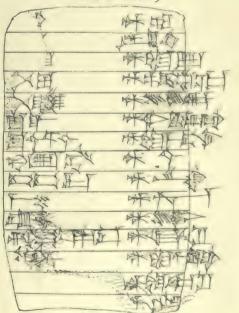


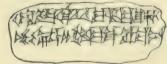


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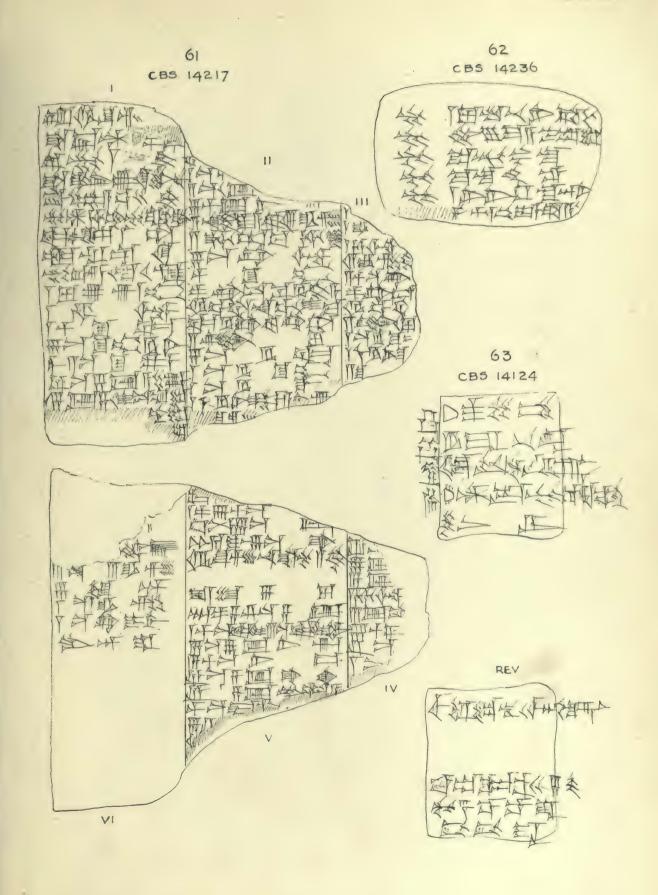


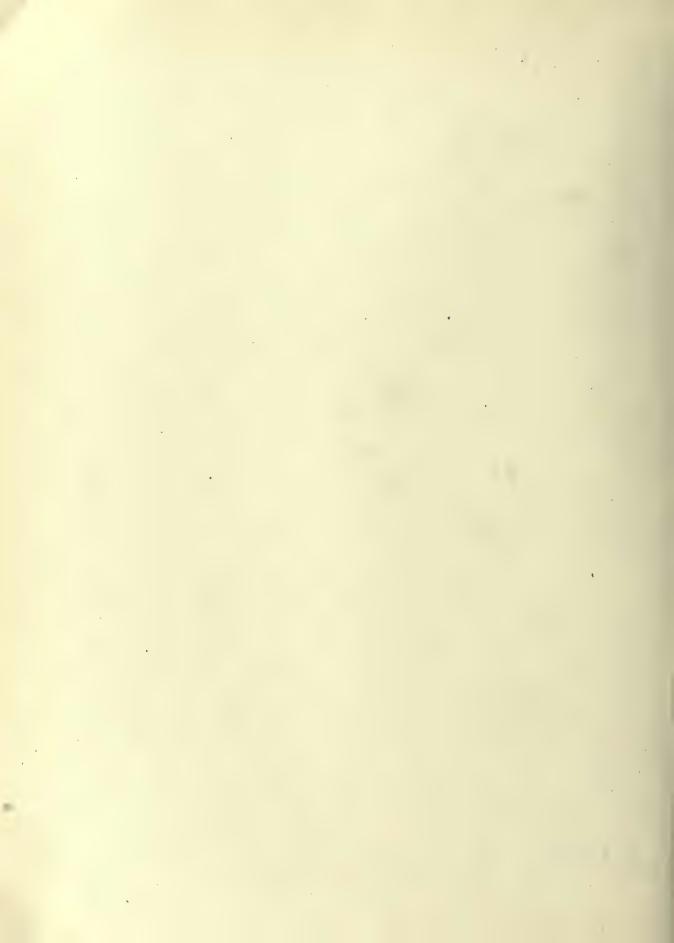
60 CBS 8359

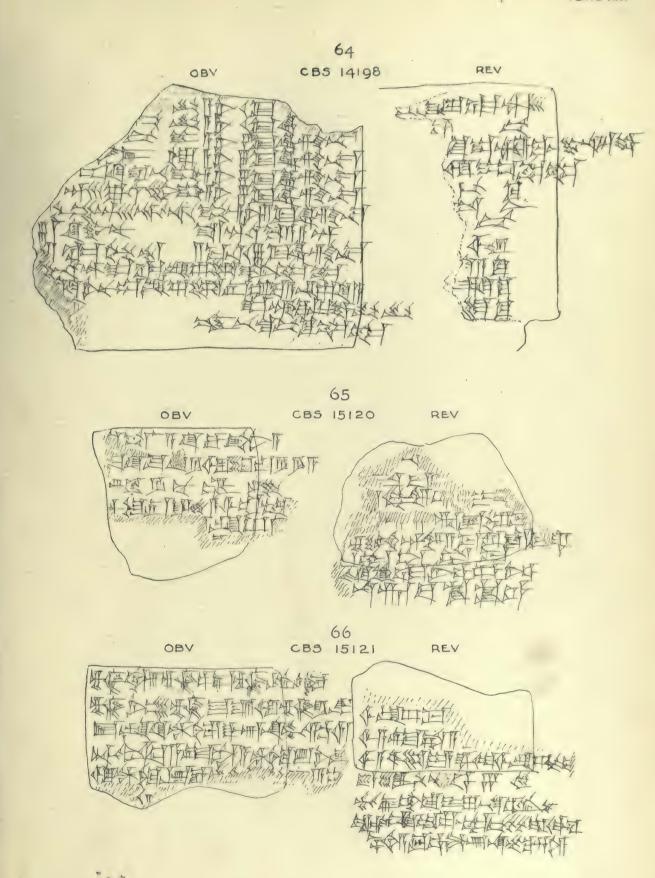








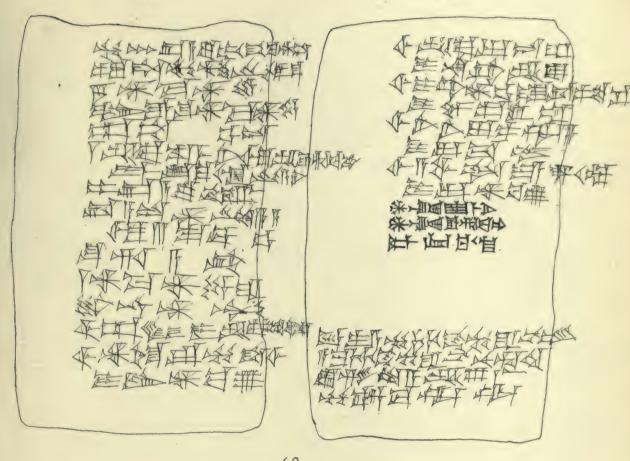


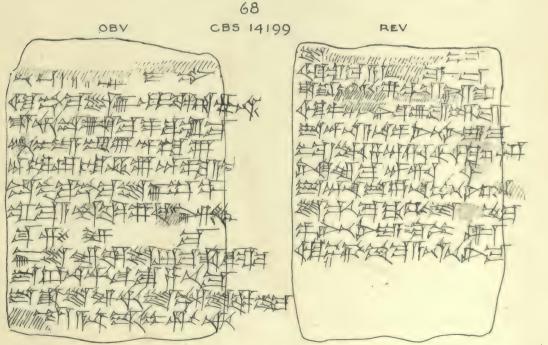




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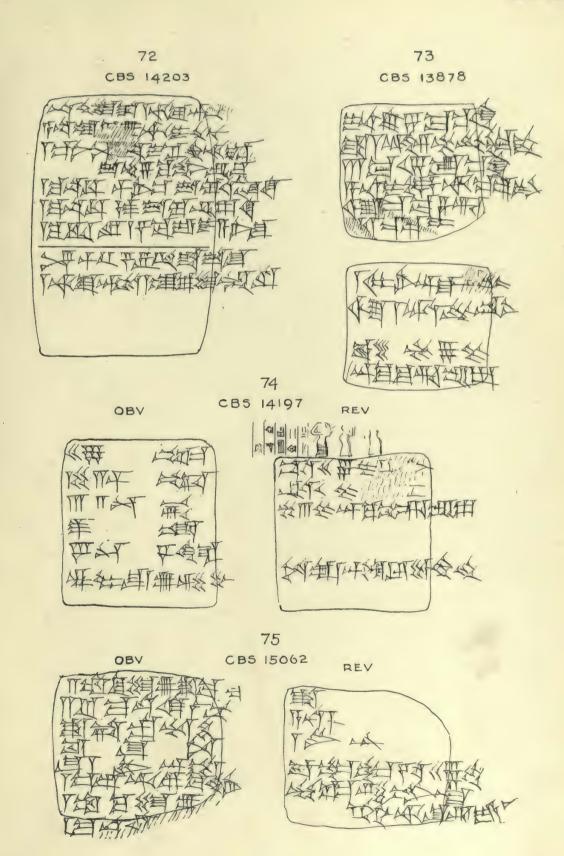




69

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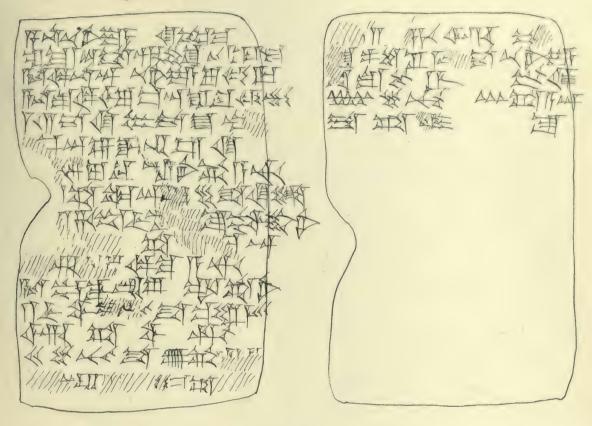




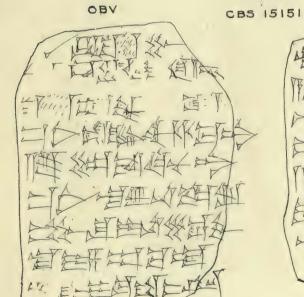
76 CB5 15220

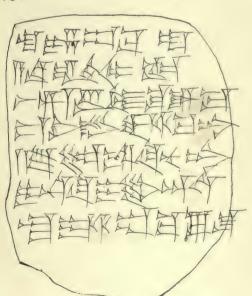
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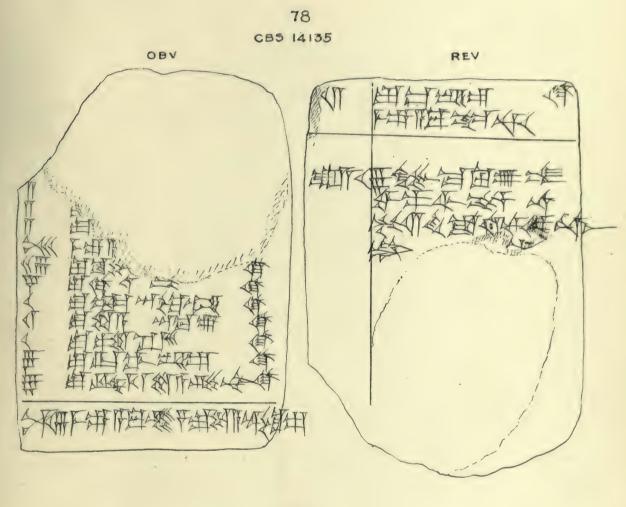


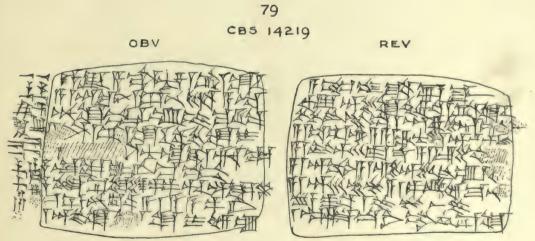
77



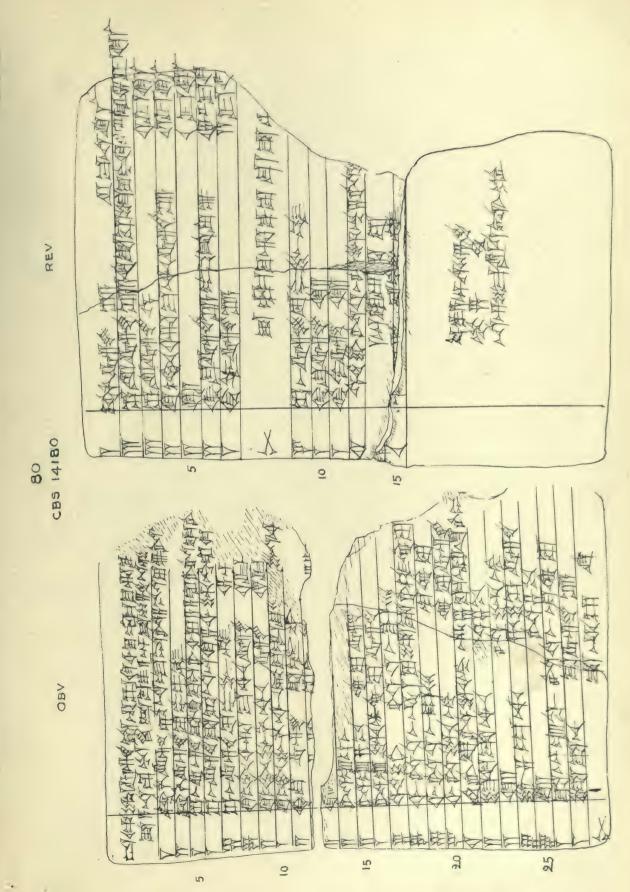




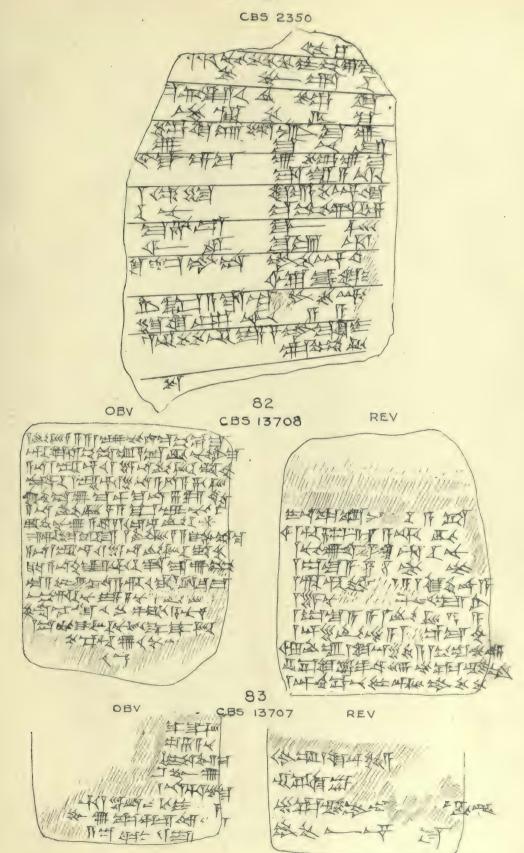


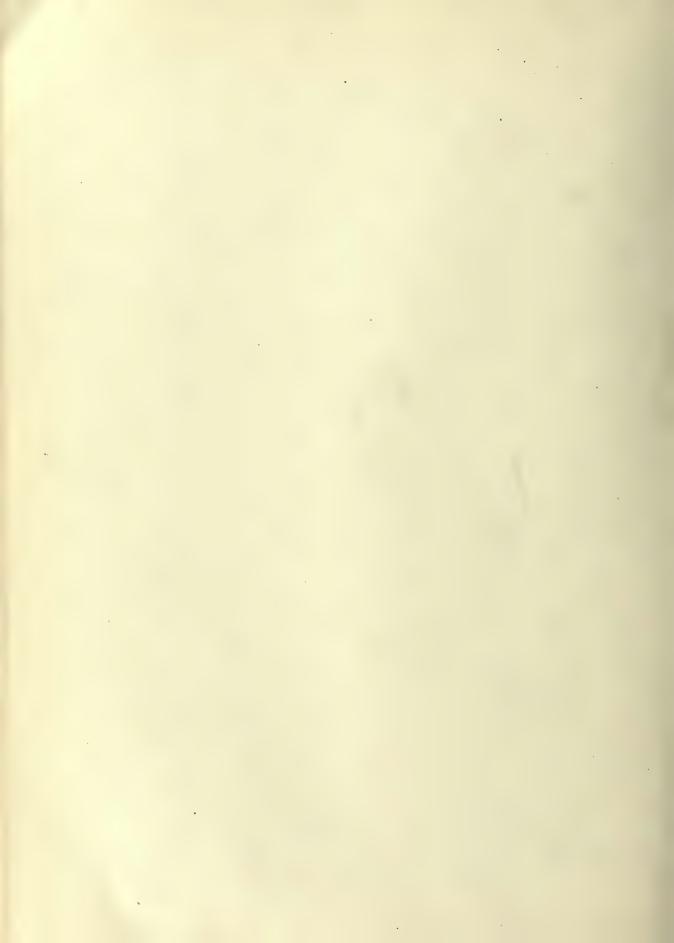


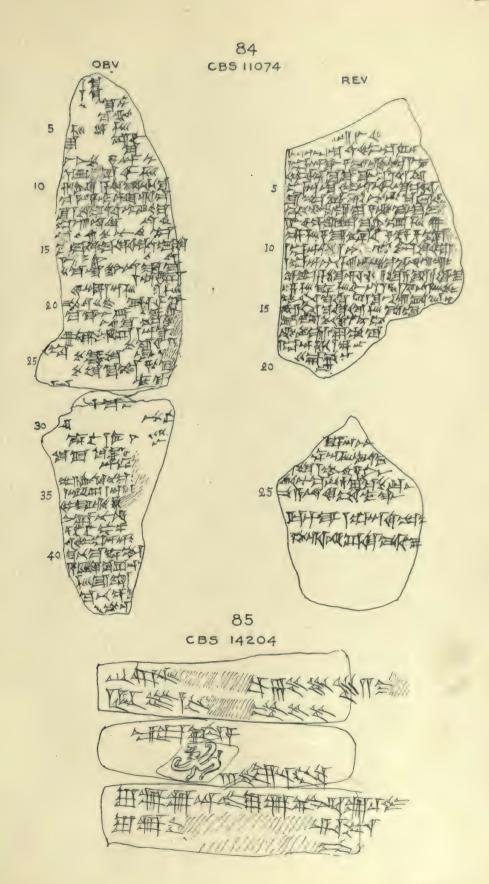




















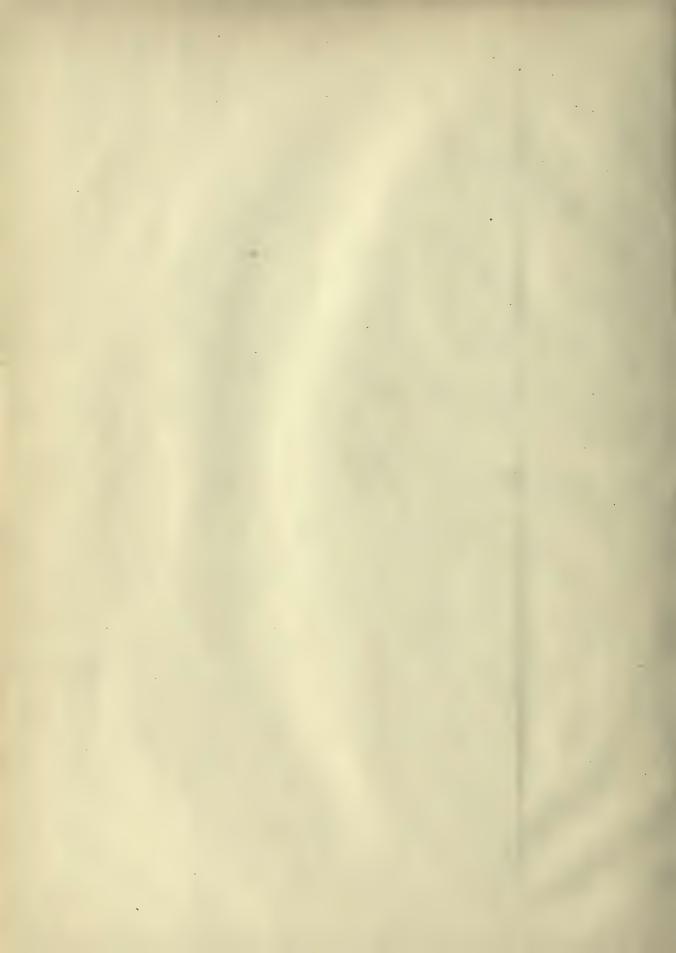


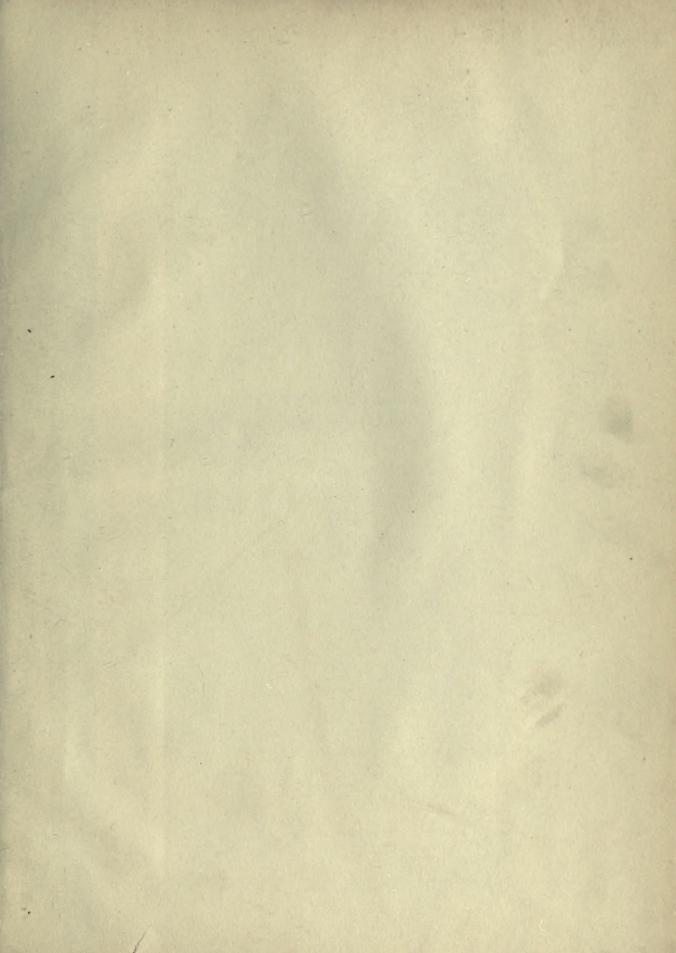
A SEAL GIVEN BY KING IBI-SIN TO THE HIGH PRIEST OF ENLIL. No. 5. ENLARGED 6 TIMES. C. B. S. 12570.

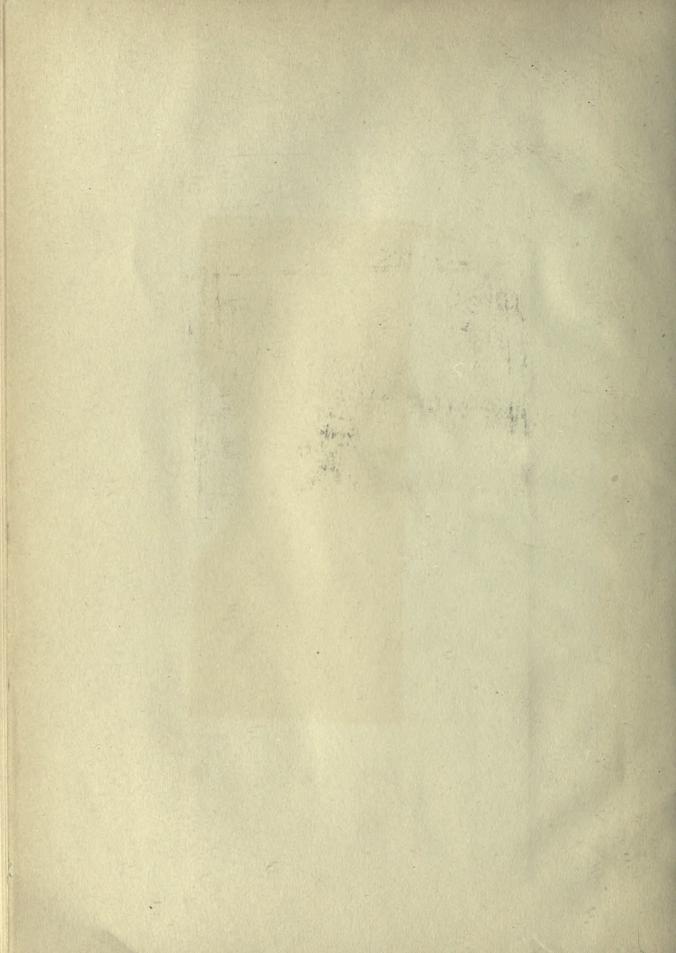




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